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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
BEAZLEY, J. D.: Groups of Early Attic Black-Figure.....	38
BONNER, CAMPBELL: An Obscure Inscription on a Gold Tablet.....	30
BONNER, CAMPBELL: The Philinna Papyrus and the Gold Tablet from the Vigna Codini	349
CORMACK, J. M. R.: Inscriptions from Beroea.....	23
DEWALD, ERNEST: The Comnenian Portraits in the Barberini Psalter.....	78
DOW, STERLING, and UPSON, FRIEDA S.: The Foot of Sarapis.....	58
HEICHELHEIM, F. M.: Numismatic Comments.....	361
HILL, B. H., and MERITT, B. D.: An Early Athenian Decree Concerning Tribute	1
HILL, DOROTHY KENT: Hera, the Sphinx?.....	353
HILL, DOROTHY KENT: More About Ancient Metal Reliefs.....	87
HOLLAND, LEICESTER B.: Colophon	91
LEVI, DORO: Aion.....	269
MAAS, PAUL: ΕΙΗΝΙΚΤΟΣ.....	36
RAUBITSCHKE, A. E.: Note on <i>I.G.</i> , I ² , 945.....	352
ROBINSON, DAVID M.: Greek Horoi and a New Attic Mortgage Inscription...	16
S(CHLAIFER), R(OBERT): A Fragment of a Proxeny Decree from Ios.....	22
SCRANTON, ROBERT: Two Temples of Commodus at Corinth.....	315
EXCAVATIONS IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA	
MERITT, BENJAMIN D.: Greek Inscriptions.....	210
THOMPSON, DOROTHY BURR: The Golden Nikai Reconsidered.....	173
Epigraphical Index	267



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AN EARLY ATHENIAN DECREE CONCERNING TRIBUTE ¹

In 1938 Gorham P. Stevens discovered a new fragment of a fifth-century Attic inscription in the south jamb of the east doorway of the Parthenon. This piece belongs with three others most recently published as D7 by Meritt, Wade-Gery, and McGregor in the first volume of *The Athenian Tribute Lists*, and preliminary notice of it was given in the foreword of that volume (p. xi). A photograph and a statement about the place of discovery have now been made public by Stevens in *Hesperia*, Suppl. III, p. 78.

The stone is 0.82 m. high, 0.20 m. wide, and 0.148 m. thick. The thickness is the only original dimension fully preserved, and it corresponds exactly with the fully preserved original thickness of D7, frag. 3.² A photograph is here presented in Fig. 1, showing the stone as it was used in the jamb of the door. The length of the block, as seen in the photograph, extends left to right from south to north. The north end, completely visible, is the original top of the stele and the lower band along the side, also completely visible, is the original-left edge. When the photograph was taken in 1936 it was not known that the original obverse surface, face down in the photograph, was inscribed.

It is clearly for its use here in the Parthenon that the block was cut to its present form and dimensions. Its right side and lower end were very roughly chiseled, and in the rear half of the left side was cut a rabbet 0.015 m. deep and 0.083 m. wide. This was cut with some precision, though the finish is distinctly inferior to the band of original surface (0.065 m. wide) left intact.

It may be seen in the photograph that this band continues the lines of the low wall-base, which projects 0.015 m. from the face of the orthostates, while the newly cut surface (the rabbet) is aligned with the face of the orthostate itself. The otherwise rough lower end of the block (the left, or south, end as seen in Fig. 1) has a

¹ It was the original plan of the authors to study together the problems of this inscription until they had reached agreement on all significant points. This collaboration was rendered impossible by the outbreak of war, so rather than wait longer to publish this important text, Meritt has decided that it should be set in type without waiting for further advices from Hill, with whom he is not now able to correspond. Both authors have had the inestimable advantage of discussion with Wade-Gery and McGregor, and indeed it was Wade-Gery who first observed the correct position of D7, fragment 2, in the new textual arrangement. Such inaccuracies of restoration as exist should not, however, be attributed to our collaborators, and Meritt wishes here to say specifically that the troublesome later lines have not had the benefit of Hill's full criticism. He publishes the entire text because he is convinced that the fragments should all be published together, and because he hopes that early publication may lead to early improvement.

² See Meritt, *Documents on Athenian Tribute*, p. 47.

narrow anathyrosis where it was in contact with the wall-base and the lowest eight centimeters of the orthostate. The contact surface on the base and orthostate has been broken away.

The north side of this Parthenon doorway is less well preserved, but enough remains to show that repairs were effected there in just the same manner as on the south, with a block like the one here under discussion in width and thickness, though



Fig. 1. The New Fragment As It was Used in the South Jamb of the East Door of the Parthenon

only 0.755 m. long (see Fig. 2). It is quite probable that this block (now lost) came from the lower left side of the same stele; that its southern end (the left, as seen in Fig. 2) was the original bottom; and that a rabbet 0.083 m. wide and 0.015 m. deep was cut in the rear half of the original left lateral face.

These observations lead to some speculation about the total height of the inscription, for if they are correct the total height cannot have been less than 1.575 m. (0.82 m. + 0.755 m.). With some allowance for cutting one might estimate a minimum of 1.60 m. This is sufficient for at least 81 lines, more probably for 82 or 83. It must be noted, however, that the lower portion of the British Museum fragment (D7, frag. 3) is uninscribed. We do not know whether the original base of this

fragment is preserved,³ but in any case we may assign to this piece a position so high in the stone that only four lines intervene between the last letters of D7, frag. 2 and the first line of D7, frag. 3. These stones cannot be moved closer together. Inasmuch as D7, frag. 2 is tied to the new piece from the Akropolis by its restorations, an absolute minimum of 71 lines is determined for the inscription.



Fig. 2. The Front Wall of the Parthenon at the Foot of the
North Jamb of the East Doorway

If one adds to these 71 lines an additional five lines to represent the bottom part of the British Museum fragment⁴ which is still visibly uninscribed, a minimum theoretical height in lines for the original stele may be determined as 76. This figure comes so near to the height in lines of 82 or 83 which was suggested by adding the lost fragment from the north jamb of the Parthenon door to the preserved fragment from the south jamb, that we believe that disposition substantially correct.⁵ Trans-

³ E. L. Hicks, *Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum*, I, p. 16, says that it was; but cf. Meritt, *D.A.T.*, p. 47. Since Hicks was mistaken about the left edge of the fragment it would be desirable for someone to make a new examination of the bottom.

⁴ To all appearances the addition should be $70 + 6 = 76$, for no part of the last line of the inscription appears on the British Museum fragment.

⁵ The bottom of the British Museum fragment is set in a socle, to what depth we do not know. The height here suggested for the original stele implies either additional uninscribed surface at the bottom of the British Museum fragment or a wider spacing between D7, fragments 2 and 3, or perhaps a combination of both.

lated into terms of textual reconstruction this means that we assume a lacuna of about ten lines between the upper and the lower halves of the inscription.

A photograph of the new stone in its relation to D7, frag. 1, is shown here in Fig. 3.⁶ Photographs of the three fragments of D7 may be found in *A.T.L.*, pages 121-122, and in Meritt, *D.A.T.*, pages 44, 46, and 48. It is at once apparent that the square uninscribed space in the upper right corner of the stele⁷ was not balanced by a similar uninscribed space in the upper left corner. This was assumed by Meritt in his first publication of D7, frag. 1. The consequence is that restorations must now be proposed after the invocation in line 1 which give 23 letters per line in lines 2-14 and 40 letters per line in lines 15 ff. The new text of the inscription is published here:

A.T.L., I, D7

448/7 B.C.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 23 and 40

Θ ε ο ί

- ἔδοχσεν τῷ βολ[ῆι καὶ τῷ] δέ
 μοι, Οἰνέϊς ἐπρῶ[τάνευε, Σπ]ου
 δίας ἐγραμμάτε[νε, . . .⁶ . . .]ον
 5 ἐπεστάτε, Κλενί[ας εἶπε· τὲ]μ β
 ολὲν καὶ τὸς ἄρχ[οντας ἐν] τέσ
 ι πόλεσι καὶ τὸς [ἐπισκό]πος ἐ
 πιμέλεσθαι λόπ[ος ἂν χσ]υλλέ
 γεται ἡο φόρος κ[ατὰ τὸ εἰ]τος ἡ
 10 ἕκαστον καὶ ἀπά[γεται] Ἀθένα
 ζε· χσύμβολα δὲ π[οιέσα]σθαι π
 ρὸς τὰς πόλεις λό[πος ἂ]μ μὲ ἔχσ
 ῆι ἀδικῆν τοῖς ἀ[πάγο]σι τὸμ φ
 ὀρον· γράφσασα δ[ὲ ἡε] πόλις ἐς
 15 γραμματεῖον τὸ[μ φό]ρον λόντιν' ἂν ἀποπέμπει σεμε
 ναμένε τῷ συμβ[όλο]ι ἀποπεμπέτο Ἀθέναζε· τὸς δὲ ἀ
 πάγοντας ἀποδο[ναί] τὸ γραμματεῖον ἐν τῷ βολῆι ἀ
 ναγνῶναι λόταμ[πε]ρ τὸμ φόρον ἀποδιδῶσι· ἡοι δὲ πρ
 20 ς ἡελλενοταμία[σι ἀ]ποδεῖχσαι Ἀθηναίοις τὸμ πόλ
 εον τὰς ἀποδόσα[ς τὸμ φόρον ἐ]ντελέ καὶ τὰς ἐλλιπό

⁶ Both of these fragments have been transported to the Epigraphical Museum. Our latest advice is that a copy of the Parthenon block was to be made in marble without the inscription and substituted in the south jamb of the door, and further that a plaster cast of the entire block including the inscription is to be kept in the Museum on the Akropolis.

⁷ Dow, *A.J.A.*, XLII, 1938, p. 602, noted that the space was square. For a similar uninscribed space in the upper right corner of a stele, cf. *I.G.*, II², 2496.

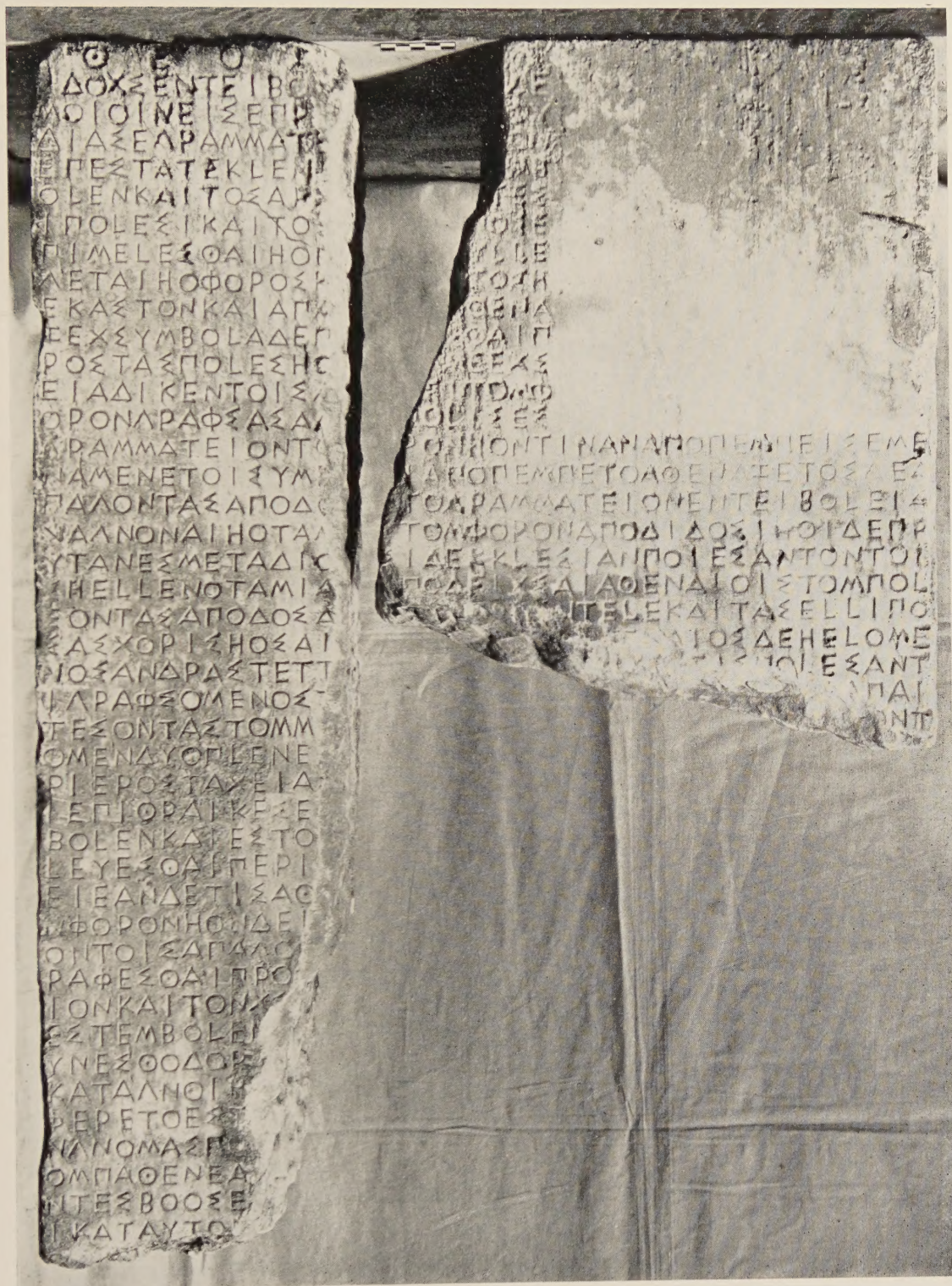


Fig. 3. The New Fragment of D7, Shown in Its Relationship to the Fragment Discovered in 1926

- σας χορὶς ἰόσαι [ἄν τινες ὄσιν· Ἄθ]εναίος δὲ ἡελομέ
 νος ἄνδρας τέττ[αρας ἀποπέμπειν ἐπὶ] τὰς πόλεις ἀντ
 ιγραφιστομένους τ[ὸμ φόρον τέσι ἀποδόσεσι κα]ὶ ἀπα
 25 τέσσοντας τὸμ μὲ [ἀποδοθέντα παρὰ τὸν ἑλλιποσ]ὸν, τ
 ὁ μὲν δύο πλὴν ἐπ[ὶ τὰς ἐπὶ Νέσον καὶ ἐπ' Ἰονίας ἐπὶ] τ
 ριέρος ταχίας [τὸ δὲ δύο ἐπὶ τὰς ἐφ' Ἑλλεσπόντο κα]
 ἰ ἐπὶ Θράικες· ἐ[σάγειν δὲ ταῦτα τὸς πρυτάνες ἐς τὸν]
 βολὲν καὶ ἐς τὸ [ν δέμον εὐθύς μετὰ Διονύσια καὶ βο]
 30 λεύεσθαι περὶ τ[ούτον χσυνεχὸς ἡέος ἄν διαπραχθ]
 εἶ· ἐὰν δέ τις Ἄθ[εναίος ἔ] χσύμμαχος ἀδικεῖ περὶ τὸ
 ν φόρον ἡὸν δεῖ [τὰς πόλεις γραφσάσας ἐς γραμματεῖ]
 ον τοῖς ἀπάγοσ[ιν ἀποπέμπειν Ἀθέναζε ἔστο αὐτὸν γ]
 ράφεσθαι πρὸς [τὸς πρυτάνες τοῖ β]ολομένο[ι Ἀθена]
 35 ἰον καὶ τὸν χσ[υμμάχον·] ἡοι δὲ πρυτ[ά]νες ἔσαγ[όντον]
 ἐς τὸμ βολὲν [τὸν γραφὲν ἡέν τι]ς ἄγ γραφσεται[ι ἔ] εὐθ[ύ]
 ννέσθο δόρο[ν μυρίασι δραχμ]ῆς[ι ἡ]έκαστος· [ἡὸ δ' ἄν]
 καταγνῶι ἡ[ε] βολέ, μὲ τιμᾶν αὐτ[ῶι] κυρία ἔστο [ἀλλ' ἔσ]
 φερέτο ἐς τ[ὲν ἐλιαίαν εὐθύ]ς· ὅταν δὲ δόχσει [ἀδικέ]
 40 ν γνόμας πο[ιόντον] ἡοι πρυ[τάνες] ἡό, τι ἄν δοκ[εῖ αὐτ]
 ὁμ παθὲν ἔ[ὰ] ποτεῖσαι· καὶ ἐ[ὰν] τις περὶ τὸν ἀπα[γογέ]
 ν τῆς βοὸς ἔ[ὰ] τῆς πανηιοπλία]ς ἀδικεῖ τὰς γραφὰ[ς ἑνα]
 ι κατ' αὐτὸ κ[αὶ τὸν ζεμίαν κ]ατὰ ταῦτά· τὸς δὲ [ἡελλεν]
 ο[ταμίας ἀναγράφαντας ἐ]ς πινάκιον λελ[ευκομέν]
 45 [ον ἀποφαίνειν καὶ τὸν τάχσι]ν τὸ φόρο καὶ [τὰς πόλεις]
 [ἰόσαι ἄν ἀποδοῶσιν ἐντελέ κα]ὶ ἀπογ[ράφσαι ...⁶...]

about 10 lines missing

- [...⁹..... χρεματίσαι δὲ καὶ τὸμ] βολὲν τὸν ἐσι[ὸσ]
 [αν περὶ τὸν ἀπαγόντον τὸμ φόρον· ἡ]όσοι δὲ τὸν ἀπα[γ]
 [όντον Ἀθέναζε ἐς τὸ πινάκιον ἄν]αγεγράφεται ὁφέ
 60 [λοντες ἐν τῇ βολεῖ τὸν βολὲν ἐπ]ιδείχσαι τοῖ δέμ
 [οι κατὰ τὸν πόλιν ἡεκάσταν· ἐὰν δ]έ τις τὸμ πόλεον ἄ
 [μφισβετεῖ περὶ τὸ φόρο τῆς ἀποδ]όσεος φάσκοσα ἀπ
 [οδεδοκέναι¹⁶.....]θαι τὸ κοινὸν τῆς
 [πόλεος·²⁰.....]ας τὰς πόλεις καὶ τ
 65 [...²⁰..... γράφει]θαι δὲ μὲ ἐχσῆναι
 [...¹⁶..... τὸ δὲ γραφέν]τος ὁφελέτο ἡο γρ
 [αφσάμενος τὸν τιμὴν ἐὰν φεύγει·] τὸν δὲ γραφὲν ἑνα
 [ι πρὸς τὸν πολέμαρχον μενὶ Γαμε]λιῶνι· ἐὰν δέ τις ἀ
 [μφισβετεῖ¹⁷.....] κλέσες ἡε βολέ βο

- 70 [λευσαμένε¹⁷.....] ἔσαγόντων δὲ ἰοι
 [ἔσαγογῆς ἐς τὸν ἐλιαίαν τὸς Ἀθε]ναίοις τὸν φόρον
 [ὀφέλοντας ἡεχσῆς κατὰ τὸν πίνα]κα τῆς μενύσεος· ἐ
 [.....²¹..... τὸ νέο] φόρο καὶ τὸ περυσ
 [ινῶ¹²..... τὸν δὲ βολὲν π]ροβολεύσασαν ἔχ
 75 [σενεγκῆν¹⁸.....] πέρι τῇ ἡυστερα
 [ἰαι ἐς τὸν δῆμον·¹²..... τ]ῆς ἡαιρέσεος χρε
 [ματίσαι -----] *vacat*

NOTES ON READINGS

The discovery of an initial line necessitates a complete renumbering of lines throughout the document.

Near the end of line 3 it is clear that the letter previously read as theta is really omicron. What seemed to be the central dot must be set down as a mark of weathering, for the restoration [Σπ]ουδίας seems clear. In line 18, Hill detects part of the letter rho just at the left edge of D7, frag. 1. In line 34 we now restore [τῶι β]ολομένο[ι]. An omicron once read in the text where we have restored the iota of τῶι was accepted in the publications in *D.A.T.* and *A.T.L.* on the authority of Koehler who first printed it in his text of *I.G.*, I, 39. It does not appear in the publications by Rangabé, *Antiquités Helléniques*, I, no. 277, and Pittakys, *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1854, no. 2071. We do not believe that this omicron or any part of it was ever seen upon the battered upper left corner of D7, frag. 2.

At the end of line 36 the last alpha should be dotted. Only the tip of the left lateral stroke is visible. In line 37, the letters have been read to give the restoration [ἔσα]γέσθ[ο]. The necessities of restoration make it practically certain that the correct reading here is [μν]ρίαισι δραχμ]ῆσ[ι]. The stone has been again examined by Hill who reports that he can see no trace of the slanting stroke which Meritt thought to be the right bar of gamma, but which might equally well have been the right bar of mu. In view of the doubt as to whether any stroke exists here, we include mu entirely within the brackets. The reading of theta has depended upon an examination made some years ago by Meritt. Early in 1940, Hill thought that the "top of theta might perhaps be made out," and this is the way the letter appears in the drawing on plate XXIV of *A.T.L.* Our confidence that the letter must have been iota leads us to reject a reading which the treacherous surface of the stone has probably distorted and made incorrect.

In line 38, the first omicron read on D7, frag. 2, must be dotted, as must also the first tau in line 40, the last alpha of line 42, and the first alpha in line 43, of the same fragment.

Hill reads part of iota at the end of the preserved section of line 45.

In line 46, it is uncertain whether the last preserved letter should be gamma or delta. We restore gamma with a dot beneath it.

The position of D7, frag. 2, is now definitely fixed in its relation to D7, frag. 1, because the half lines in both of them are tied by restoration to the new fragment from the Akropolis. The lateral position of D7, frag. 2, is known from the fact that its right margin is preserved. This lateral position is correctly shown in *D.A.T.*, plate II, and in *A.T.L.*, plate XXIV. Dow, *A.J.A.*, XLII, 1938, p. 602, has urged that it be moved one space toward the right. This suggestion is not valid, as is made quite clear from the restorations of the continuous text here proposed. It was made by Dow on the basis of his observation of the published photographs and exemplifies one type of error to which students are liable if they do not remember some of the necessary limitations of photography.⁸

COMMENTARY ON THE TEXT

Line 1: It may be noted that the reading $\theta\epsilon\omicron\iota[\sigma\nu]$ would give a perfectly symmetrical arrangement of the letters in line 1 over the letters of the preamble in line 2, one letter of the invocation falling over every third letter of the succeeding line. We prefer to read simply $\theta\epsilon\omicron\iota$ because there is as yet no evidence from the fifth century that the dative form was used over Athenian decrees. There are numerous examples of the nominative.

Line 5: The orator was Kleinias. Unless it is to be supposed that he is some man otherwise completely unknown to us, this Kleinias must be a representative of the famous family from Skambonidai to which Alkibiades belonged. In the last half of the fifth century there were three men of this name: the father of Alkibiades, who lost his life at the battle of Koroneia in 447; the brother of Alkibiades; and the cousin of Alkibiades (*P.A.*, 8510-8512). Inasmuch as one may gather from lines 26-28 of this inscription that the date of it must be during those years when there were four administrative divisions of the Athenian Empire, it is evident that it must be placed either between 450 and 446, or after 438.⁹ As a lower limit this decree must not be dated later than 426 because it must precede D8 which also deals with the collection of tribute and which may now be assigned to that year.¹⁰ This later decree provides for local boards of collectors in the various cities of the empire and represents a more advanced stage in administrative development than the present text.

Furthermore, the lettering of this decree seems to be older than the lettering of D8. A study of this purely epigraphical evidence has been made by A. E. Raubitschek¹¹

⁸ This problem is discussed in Meritt, *Epigraphica Attica*, pp. 37-41.

⁹ Mario Segre, *Clara Rhodos*, IX, 1938, p. 168.

¹⁰ Now published by Meritt, Wade-Gery, McGregor, *The Athenian Tribute Lists*, Vol. I.

¹¹ *A.J.P.*, LXI, 1940, pp. 477-479.

and he has come to the conclusion that the document must be dated on this evidence in the early forties of the fifth century. Such a determination means that the only Kleinias who can be considered orator of the decree is the father of Alkibiades. And inasmuch as he died in 447 the prosopographical argument serves to fix the date still more precisely in the very early forties. Surely the brother and the cousin of Alkibiades can be ruled out. Alkibiades himself was born about 450 (*P.A.*, 600), and his brother Kleinias was younger than he (Plato, *Protagoras*, 320a). Consequently he can hardly have attained the necessary age of thirty years to entitle him to a seat in the Council before 426. Nor is it probable that the cousin belonging to the younger branch of the family should have been sufficiently old to act as councillor at any time when this decree may have been passed. Epigraphical and prosopographical evidence both point to the identity of the orator with the father of Alkibiades and to the date of the inscription before his death in 447.

The decree is thus brought into that period of time when the Athenians were reorganizing their empire after the Peace of Kallias. It is now known that there is no preserved list of quotas from the tribute in 449/8 (*A.T.L.*, I, p. 175).¹² Meritt and his collaborators suggested that there was no tribute collected in that year. This interpretation possibly pushes the negative evidence of the tribute lists too far.¹³ We have evidence only that there was no record of any quota of the tribute consecrated to the goddess Athena. Possibly tribute was collected, but if one may judge from the scant returns that were published in the following year it may be doubted that any sum was realized even approaching the normal assessment. This decree therefore was passed at a time when there was need for vigorous action on the part of Athens to make sure that the cities of the empire did pay. Along with the monetary decree, now published as *A.T.L.*, T69 (cf. the text in *I.G.*, XII, Suppl., pp. 215-217), it was one of the measures taken by the Athenians to tighten economic control over the empire and it represents one of the last links in the swift chain of events that transformed the Delian League into the Empire of Athens.¹⁴ The decree should be dated before the resumption of publication of the tribute-quota lists at the end of 448/7, and we suggest a date for it about the time of the Dionysiac festival of that year (cf. lines 19 and 24 of the text). One will note the insistence in the decree on the normal completion of payments at the time of the Dionysia and on a public record of cities in default after that date. List 7 in the series of the tribute quota records is the first document—so far as we know the only document—which has a separate rubric for cities that paid after the Dionysia. It is possible that this appendix of the quota list which must be dated in 448/7 was brought into being by the provisions of the decree here under consideration.

¹² See Meritt, *Class. Phil.*, XXXVIII, 1943, pp. 223 ff.

¹³ Cf. Gomme, *Class. Rev.*, LIV, 1940, pp. 65-67; Dow, *A.J.A.*, XLV, 1941, p. 642.

¹⁴ Meritt, in *The Greek Political Experience, Studies in Honor of William Kelly Prentice* (Princeton University Press: 1941), pp. 52-56.

The four men mentioned in line 23 of the text set out from Athens late in the year for their visit to the cities of the empire. The nine names of cities at the end of List 7 may appropriately represent the first-fruits of their activity, though the time was undoubtedly too short for the systematic paying of arrears before 447/6, when the concluding lines of List 8 reflect the full force of the provisions of this decree. One notes that the nine names of 448/7 appear in the order of the geographical districts of the empire: Ionia-Karia (2), Thrace (4), the Hellespont (0), and the Islands (3). It is tempting to believe that they were recorded in the order in which they were reported by the returning envoys. The indications are that the main body of the text of List 7 was inscribed at some time after the Dionysia, when most of the payments were in and the hellenotamiai had reported to the Athenian people (cf. lines 19-22 of the present text), and that the last nine names together with their rubric heading were cut at the end of the year. They were inscribed in a different hand, and evidently at a later date than the names which preceded them

Lines 5-11: The Council, the magistrates in the cities, and the episkopoi were to provide that the tribute be collected each year and be delivered to Athens. General supervision evidently rested with the Council. The principal work of collection and delivery must have rested with the magistrates in the cities. The role of the episkopoi may be inferred from their title as being one of inspection and supervision in the field. These episkopoi were mentioned in speeches of Antiphon and the term has been defined by Harpokration.¹⁵

It is now known that there were boards of Athenian magistrates in many of the cities of the empire¹⁶ or sometimes individual Athenians who bore the title of ἄρχων,¹⁷ but there were doubtless many cities, particularly the less wealthy ones, where the Athenians did not find it advisable to maintain their own magistrates. The present text does not indicate whether or not the magistrates in the cities which were to be responsible for tribute collection were Athenian. Where Athenian boards existed they were probably responsible. Where no Athenian boards existed the local magistrates must have been responsible. The present text applies equally well to both categories. The division of responsibility was probably determined in the case of tribute collection just as it was in the monetary decree of about 449 (*A.T.L.*, T69, § 4): [καὶ εἰ μὴ εἰσι ἄρχοντες Ἀθηναίων ἐπιτελεσάντων ὅσα ἐν τῷ ψηφίσματι οἱ ἄρχοντες οἱ ἐκάστης τῆς πόλεως].¹⁸

¹⁵ *A.T.L.*, I, pp. 573 and 578, T14 and T65: ἐπίσκοπος· Ἀντιφῶν ἐν τῷ περὶ τοῦ Λινδίων φόρου καὶ ἐν τῷ κατὰ Λαισποδίου. εἰκόασιν ἐκπέμπεσθαι τινες ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων εἰς τὰς ὑπηκόους πόλεις ἐπισκεπτόμενοι τὰ παρ' ἐκάστοις. Θεόφραστος γοῦν ἐν α' τῶν πολιτικῶν τῶν πρὸς καιροῦς φησιν οὕτω· πολλῶ γὰρ κάλλιον κατὰ γε τὴν τοῦ ὀνόματος θέσιν, ὥς οἱ Λάκωνες ἄρμουςτὰς φάσκοντες εἰς τὰς πόλεις πέμπειν, οὐκ ἐπισκόπους οὐδὲ φύλακας, ὥς Ἀθηναῖοι.

¹⁶ Meritt, *D.A.T.*, p. 15.

¹⁷ *I.G.*, I², 118, line 19.

¹⁸ See now *I.G.*, XII, Suppl., p. 217.

Lines 11-14: The Athenians were to furnish seals of identification for the cities so that the men bringing the money to Athens from any individual city might have no opportunity for malpractice. The word ἀπάγοντες as here used is almost a technical term and this inscription makes it clear that when the ἀπάγοντες are spoken of the people named are the couriers who transported the money. Meritt's argument, *D.A.T.*, p. 34, that they were the cities who paid and not the couriers who travelled was correct for the tribute quota lists but it is not applicable here. Presumably it is not applicable either in D8, line 20. The critical passage in that inscription, lines 18-21, may now be translated: "the hellenotamiai shall write upon a tablet the cities that are delinquent in their tribute and the names of the couriers and place it regularly in front of the metröon." With this interpretation Dow's criticism (*A.J.A.*, XLII, 1938, p. 602) that the restoration τὰ ὀνόματα in line 20 seems weak loses its validity.

Lines 14-16: Each city was expected to write down upon a tablet the amount of the tribute which it sent, and seal it with its seal, and deliver it to Athens. Nothing is said here about sealing the containers in which the money was transported and it is not necessary to assume that this was done. It was a sufficient guarantee that the proper sum of money would be delivered if the tablet upon which the sum was written down was sealed. This we assume to have been the case and we understand the object of σεμεναμένε to have been γραμματεῖον. The tablet was doubtless small and it could be protected in the course of travel so that it might arrive at Athens with its seal unbroken. We do not know how the tribute money was carried, though the sculptured relief above D8 (photograph in *A.T.L.*, p. 123) shows containers which may have been used for this purpose. The actual bulk of silver from some of the larger cities must have been considerable and there would always have been danger that the seal on a large container might be broken through no fault of the courier. The certain method of guaranteeing delivery in full was to seal the tablet and we assume that this was done.

Lines 16-18: The reading of the tablet in the presence of the Council must have been accompanied by the verification of the seal. For this purpose we assume that a counterpart of the seal which belonged to each city was preserved at Athens so that it could be produced and compared with the seal used upon the inscribed tablet when the amount of tribute was delivered by the couriers. These σύμβολα were the recognized guarantees of the authenticity of credentials. In the fourth century the Athenians authorized a similar guarantee of recognition for Straton, the king of the Sidonians. The preserved decree follows so closely the wording of our present text that a full citation makes a pertinent commentary on the provisions here recorded in lines 11 ff.: see *I.G.*, II², 141, lines 18-25: ποιησάσθω δὲ καὶ σύμβολα ἢ βολὴ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα τὸν Σιδωνίων, ὅπως ἂν ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων εἰδῇ εἰάν τι πέμπῃ ὁ Σιδωνίων

βασιλεὺς δεόμενος τῆς πόλεως, καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς ὁ Σιδωνίων ὅταμ πέμπητι τινὰ ὥς αὐτὸν ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων.¹⁹

Lines 18-22: Opportunity was given to the hellenotamiai to inform the Athenians, in a meeting of the assembly after the Dionysiac festival, which cities had paid in full and which were delinquent. We restore in line 22 *λόσαι* [ἄν τινες ὅσιν] rather than *λόσαι* [ἄμ μὲ ἀποδοῖσι] because the latter does not seem to make allowance for partial payments. The use of the word *ἐντελῆ* in line 21 implies the distinction between cities that paid in full on the one hand, and cities whose obligations were not completely met on the other.

Lines 22-31: The provision of these lines can be restored with considerable assurance. After the proclamation by the hellenotamiai on the status of tribute collection, four men were to be sent out to visit the cities of the empire to give receipts for the tribute paid and to make demands for the tribute not paid from those in default. Two men were to proceed to the Islands and to Ionia, the other two were to sail to the Hellespont and to Thrace. These lines give the four-fold division of the empire which we find in the monetary decree and the restoration of the names of these four districts has been made on the analogy of that decree (T69, § 11). It must have taken considerable time for these envoys to complete their journeys and one may question whether their report could have been brought back in full to Athens, even with the use of a swift trireme, much before the end of the year, but at least the prytaneis could set in motion the necessary machinery immediately after the Dionysia. This is the purpose which we read into the provisions of lines 28-31.²⁰

Lines 31-35: At this point on the stone so much is lost that one can no longer be certain of the exact wording of the restoration. Nevertheless the general sense seems clear. The verb *ἀδικεῖ* in line 31 seems fairly sure because of the appearance of the same verb in line 42. We assume that the indictments which might be lodged with the prytaneis might have to do with malpractice connected with the tribute money or with the official seal.

Lines 35-37: The restoration in these lines we believe to be certain. The amount of money for which each one of the prytaneis was made liable at his euthyna we have restored as 10,000 drachmai. This is the sum specified under similar circumstances in A9, line 37,²¹ and which we believe desirable also for the restoration of A9, line 30. Our text of lines 29-31 of A9 now returns to readings not significantly different from those of Hiller in *I.G.*, I², 63, except for the specification of money to be paid to the public treasury: —ὁφ|ελέτο χιλίας δραχμὰς *ἡε|ρὰς τῇ|ι* Ἀ|θηνα|ίαι *ἡέκαστος τὸμ π|ρ|υτάνεον κ|αὶ τῷ|ι* δημοσίοι *ἡ|οσαύτος καὶ εὐθυνέσθω μυρί|ασι* [δρα|χμῇ|σι *ἡέκαστος τὸμ πρ|υτάνεον*].

¹⁹ Cf. K. Regling, *R.E.*, s. v. Symbolon, no. 4.

²⁰ See commentary above on line 5.

²¹ See also A9, line 15.

Lines 37-41: The indictments were to receive a preliminary hearing in the Council, which acted as a Grand Jury. When a true bill was found against the defendant the Council had no authority to fix the penalty, but was required to refer the case to the regular court. The procedure is in accord with what Aristotle reports on the curtailment by the demos of the powers of the Council ('Αθ. Πολ., 45, 1): ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἀφείλετο τῆς βουλῆς τὸ θανατοῦν καὶ δεῖν καὶ χρήμασιν ζημιοῦν καὶ νόμον ἔθετο, ἂν τινος ἀδικεῖν ἢ βουλὴ καταγνῶ ἢ ζημιώσῃ, τὰς καταγνώσεις καὶ τὰς ἐπιζημιώσεις εἰσάγειν τοὺς θεσμοθέτας εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον, καὶ ὃ τι ἂν οἱ δικασταὶ ψηφίσωνται, τοῦτο κύριον εἶναι.

It is a new item of evidence for the historical development of the Athenian judiciary to find the particular restriction of this decree on the competence of the Council as early as the middle of the fifth century.²² The prytaneis, however, were to offer a resolution defining their proposed penalty, and this provision made the Council in effect responsible for the prosecution of each case through the popular court. In case of conviction, the penalty advocated by the prosecution did not come from the man who made the original indictment before the prytaneis, but from the prytaneis themselves.

Lines 41-43: Every city of the empire was required to send a cow and a panoply of arms to the Great Panathenaia. The provision in A9, lines 55-57, reads: ἡπόσ[εσι πό]λεσι φόρος [ἐτάχ]θ[ε ἐπὶ τ]ῆς [βολῆς ἡεὶ Πλειστή]ας πρώτος [ἐγγρα]μμάτευε ἐπὶ Στρατοκ[λέος] ἄρχοντος βό[ν καὶ παν]λοπ[λ]ία[ν ἀπάγειν ἐς Παναθ]έναια τὰ με[γάλα] λιπάσας. The present text shows that the decree of 425/4 merely re-enacted an earlier regulation, for it takes for granted this contribution of the allies to the Great Panathenaia, and provides only for procedure in the case of indictments which concern malpractice about the sending of the cow or the panoply. Incidentally, the text proves conclusively that the animal offering was a cow, not an ox, and dispels any ambiguity that may have arisen from scholia on the *Clouds* of Aristophanes (line 386):

a) ἐν τοῖς Παναθηναίοις αἱ Ἀττικαὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις πόλεις ἔπεμπον βούς.

b) ἐν τοῖς Παναθηναίοις πᾶσαι αἱ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀποικισθεῖσαι πόλεις βούν τιθησόμενον ἔπεμπον.

c) πασῶν τῶν ἀποικισθεῖσων ἀπ' Ἀθηνῶν πόλεων πεμπούσης ἐκάστης ἀνὰ ἓνα βούν εἰς τὴν θυσίαν καὶ ἕτερα ἱερεῖα.²³

²² See Lipsius, *Das attische Recht*, pp. 45-46.

²³ Rutherford, *Scholia Aristophanica*, I, p. 177, refers to the sending of an ox, and Meritt and West, *The Athenian Assessment*, p. 50, also translate βούς of A9, line 57, as ox. Ziehen, in *R.E.*, s. v. Opfer, col. 594, maintains that only female animals were sacrificed to Athena, citing the proofs advanced by P. Stengel, *Opferbräuche der Griechen* (Leipzig and Berlin: Teubner, 1910), p. 193; see also L. Deubner, *Attische Feste* (Berlin, 1932), pp. 25-26; D. M. Robinson, *A.J.A.*, XXXVIII, 1934, p. 46. Michaelis, *Der Parthenon* (Leipzig, 1871), p. 242, had claimed the feminine in spite of the scholia here cited, but later Mommsen, *Feste der Stadt Athen* (Leipzig, 1898) p. 118, note 1,

The fact that the tribute-paying cities of the empire were on the same footing as the colonists in the Panathenaic procession seems to be indicated by A9, lines 57-58: *πεμπόντων δ[ὲ ἐν] τῇ πομπῇ [καθάπερ ἄποι]κ[οι]*. Here the verb *πεμπόντων* probably governs, in thought, the words *βοῦν καὶ πανθοπλίαν*, and may be translated, "They shall escort them in the festival procession in the same manner as colonists."²⁴

Lines 43-77: The concluding four lines of the upper group of fragments and the lines of the lowest fragment are much more difficult to restore and there is, we believe, little prospect at present of reaching anything like certainty about them. The text which is given above is largely for the sake of example in order to show an interpretation of what the meaning might have been. In lines 57-58 there seems to be reference to the incoming Council. Inasmuch as the provisions of earlier lines, notably lines 18-19 with their reference to a meeting of the Ekklesia to be called after the Dionysiac Festival, imply a date for the inscription at about the time of the Dionysia, it is apparent that the action to be taken by the new Council as envisaged in lines 57 ff. can have been begun only in midsummer after a lapse of several months. So far as can be determined, the business of the new Council was to be concerned with disputes as to whether cities had or had not paid their tribute, and to further prosecution of allied representatives who owed tribute money. At least some of these cases were to be brought to trial in the month of Gamelion. This is the earliest month of the new year which can be supplied for the end of the name still preserved in line 68. After this on the stone there is mention in line 73 of current tribute and of tribute from the previous year.

As one looks back over the document he finds that provision is made for getting tribute to Athens normally before the Dionysiac festival, that a report will be made to the Athenians in the present instance by the Hellenotamiai immediately after the festival, and that four men shall then be sent out to the cities of the Empire to give receipts for tribute paid and to try to collect what is still due; that at the beginning of the new year there will still be prosecutions for arrears, and that during the new year current tribute and back payments may both be expected. These are precisely the conditions which seem best met in the tribute lists by the records of 448/7 and 447/6. As pointed out above, the decree was probably necessitated by a general desire on the part of the allies to forego their payments after the Peace of Kallias in 449. The tribute-quota list of 448/7, List 7, is the first to mention payments after the Dionysia, and they are appended at the end of the record. But most of the arrears were probably brought in during the next year, or were to be subject to court pro-

asserted, "Das Geschlecht der Rinder ist nicht zu erkennen." The gender is not indicated by Martin P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion* (1940), p. 693: "Zu den grossen Panathenaeen sandten die Staedte Attikas und die Kolonien je ein Opferrind. . . ."

²⁴ Meritt and West, *The Athenian Assessment*, p. 50 suggested an absolute translation of the verb.

cedure during the early part of the next year. It is our belief that the heavy payment of arrears in the concluding lines of List 8 in the tribute-quota records is a measure of the success achieved by the Athenians in carrying out the provisions laid down in lines 57-77 of the present inscription. If this connection between the decree and the quota records is valid, and there is no other period of two years where what we might expect from the decree is so well reflected in the lists, then there is an additional reason for believing the date 448/7 justified for the decree.

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GREEK HOROI AND A NEW ATTIC MORTGAGE INSCRIPTION

The usual epigraphic form in which Greek mortgages have been found is that of small markers known as *horoi*¹ which were set up on mortgaged lands and houses as public records. The one important exception is the doubly unique temple mortgage in the form of a sale subject to redemption, of which a long first specimen (*πρᾶσις ἐπὶ λύσει*) was found by us in 1910 at Sardis, and which Buckler-Robinson published in *A.J.A.*, XVI, 1912, pp. 11-82 and in *Sardis*, VII, 1, pp. 1-7 (dating about 200 B.C.). Two more specimens have come to light since 1910; one in Mesopotamia (195 B.C.);² the other (first century B.C.) in Sicily.³ These are real deeds, *syngraphai* or *synthekai*, as distinct from mere *horoi*, which sometimes mention such original mortgages (*συγγραφή, συνθήκη* or *διαθήκη*)⁴ as deposited for safekeeping with a third person or banker or in some temple. It is peculiar that no *syngraphe* of a sale subject to redemption has survived in literature or even in papyri, perhaps because in Greco-

¹ On the various meanings of *horos* cf. Wade-Gery, *Mélanges Gustave Glotz*, 1932, pp. 877-887 and references cited in the following notes. Cf. for *horoi* Bleckmann, *Griechische Inschriften zur Griechischen Staatenkunde*, 1913, p. 1 (with references); Dorothy Hill, *A.J.A.*, XXXVI, 1932, pp. 254-259; *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 65; VIII, 1939, pp. 48, 77-79, 205-206; IX, 1940, pp. 266-267; X, 1941, pp. 52-53; *I.G.*, XII, 7, 56, in archonship of Kritoboulos, *συνθήκας*; *ibid.*, 57 (*διαθήκας* deposited with archon Eunomides); these last two not mentioned in *Hesperia*, XII, 1943, pp. 160-165. In *I.G.*, II², 2726 there is no reference to *B.S.A.*, XI, 1904-1905, p. 71 where Tillyard republishes the inscription without knowledge of its previous edition by Ziebarth in *Sitzungsber. Ak. Berlin*, 1897, p. 665. Tillyard gives (p. 65, note 10) a wrong reference, showing his unfamiliarity with Ziebarth; he wrongly reads *παρὰ Χαιρεδήμο[υ]* 'Παμ(ονσίον)' for Ziebarth's correct *παρὰ Χαιρεδήμου* 'Παμ(ονσίον)'. The dative is always used in such constructions with *συνθήκας κειμένας*. Tillyard also says that the loan was "447 drachmae, 3½ obols," when his text clearly shows 4½ obols. On the other hand, Tillyard's reading of the numerals is correct and Ziebarth's wrong (HHHHΔ>ΔΔΠΗΗΗΗ<). The corpus reading (HHHHΔΔΔΔΠΗΗΗΗ<) with no credit to Tillyard and without knowledge of his publication gives from a squeeze the same reading as Tillyard, 447 drachmas, 4½ obols, Π and Ι combined to look like H. Michel, *Recueil*, Suppl., 1739 has the correct reading. There are other cases of double publications of *horos* inscriptions without knowledge of the *editio princeps* and these and many other points will be apparent when Professor John V. A. Fine of Princeton (now Captain USMCR) publishes the results of the study he is making of *ὄροι*, especially those found in the Agora. See also *Hesperia*, Suppl. VII (1943), pp. 1-3.

² *Rev. de Phil.*, XLVIII, 1924, pp. 97 f.; Cumont, *Fouilles de Doura-Europos*, 1926, pp. 286-296; *Zeitschrift Savigny-Stift.*, romanist. Abt., XLVI, 1926, p. 339.

³ *Ann. Sc. Arch. di Atene*, I, 1914, pp. 113 f.; *Zeitschrift Savigny-Stift.*, romanist. Abt., XLVII, 1927, p. 494.

⁴ Cf. for *κατὰ συνθήκας τὰς κειμένας παρὰ* [*κειμένας* sometimes omitted] (which does not occur before 316 B.C. on *ὄροι*) Michel, *Recueil*, nos. 1362 B, 1370; *I.G.*, XII, 7, 56-57; 8, 18; *I.G.*, II², 2701, 2724 2727, 2741, 2758, 2759, 2768, 2769; *I.G.*, XII, Suppl., 1939, p. 147, 18; 'Αρχ. Δελτίον, XIV, 1935, *παράρτημα*, pp. 31-32, no. 4; Ferguson, *Klio*, XI, 1911, p. 265; Dow-Travis, *Hesperia*, XII, 1943, pp. 160-165 (for *παρὰ τοῦ δέινος* read *παρὰ τῷ δέινῳ*). For *συνγραφή* cf. *Oxyr. Pap.*, VIII, 1105.

Egyptian law the *πράσις ἐπὶ λύσει* took the somewhat similar form of *ὠνὴ ἐν πίστει*.⁵ So the hypothecary inscriptions on stone *horoi* are important to students of Greek law and systems of mortgage. There are four main classes⁶ (1) ἀποτιμήματα, mortgages as security for property of minors or dowries; (2) acts of simple sale, (3) mortgages with a condition of reciprocal usage (ἀντίχρησις); (4) custody or sales subject to redemption (ἐπὶ λύσει).⁷ The last form was in use as early as the fourth century B.C. in Attica, Lemnos, Skyros, Amorgos and elsewhere. Aside from the three examples mentioned above, it is known only from a few Attic orations and from many inscribed *horoi* such as that here published.⁸ Such stones seem unimportant and some have objected to dignifying them with the word "mortgage," of which in Europe there are no examples, aside from ancient ones, before the tenth century after Christ. But, since the discovery of the unique Sardis ἐπὶ λύσει mortgage, we know more about such transactions and realize that there is a resemblance to the old French mortgage, the English common-law mortgage, and especially to the Scottish mortgage,⁹ still in frequent use, known as "an absolute disposition with back-bond." The property is conveyed outright to the creditor as in a transaction of sale, but the fact that it is really a mortgage is written into a "back bond" or "back-letter." The creditor has full title of ownership, but this can be redeemed at any time, and the Sardis inscription settles this disputed question for ancient times and proves that the property generally must be reconveyed to the debtor by the creditor and did not revert. The *πράσις ἐπὶ*

⁵ Cf. *Philologus*, LXIII, 1904, pp. 498-583; Schwarz, *Hypothek und Hypallagma*, 1911, p. 35; Wilcken-Mitteis, *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie*, 1912, II, 1, pp. 135 ff.

⁶ Cf. Harpocration, s.v. ὄρος; Pollux, III, 85; Dareste-Haussoullier-Reinach, *Recueil des inscriptions juridiques grecques*, pp. 108-142; Roberts-Gardner, *Introduction to Greek Epigraphy*, II, *The Inscriptions of Attica*, pp. 494-498; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*³, 1187-1198; Michel, *Recueil*, 1364-1382; *I.G.*, II², 2642-2770; Paoli, *Studi di diritto attico*, 1930, pp. 141-194.

⁷ Cf. *Wiener Studien*, IX, 1887, pp. 279 f.; Hitzig, *Das griechische Pfandrecht*, 1895, pp. 69-107; *Zeitschrift Savigny-Stift.*, XVI, 1895, pp. 76-107; XXVIII, 1907, pp. 354-371; XXX, 1909, pp. 306 ff.; XXXI, 1910, pp. 467 ff.; Beauchet, *Histoire du droit privé de la répub. athén.*, IV, pp. 176-194; Guiraud, *Mélanges Perrot*, 1903, pp. 146-148; Pappoulas, Ἡ Ἐμπράγματος Ἀσφάλεια, pp. 28-38, 53-55; Weiss, *Pfandr. Untersuchungen*, I, 1909, pp. 21 f.; Partsch, *Gr. Bürgschaftsrecht*, 1909, pp. 256-259; Schwarz, *Hypothek und Hypallagma*, 1911, p. 35.

⁸ For literary sources cf. Hitzig, Beauchet, and Pappoulas *loc. cit.* For inscriptions cf. also Beauchet, *op. cit.*, III, p. 345; Dareste-Haussoullier-Reinach, *Recueil des inscriptions juridiques grecques*, I, pp. 112-116; Michel, *Recueil*, nos. 1364-1375, 1738-1744; *Sitzungsber. Ak. Berlin*, 1897, pp. 664-675; 1898, pp. 782-783; *I.G.*, XII, 8, 18-22 (Lemnos); Robinson, *A.J.P.*, XXVIII, 1907, pp. 430-431 (with references cited there); *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXV, 1910, p. 106, note 3; Paoli and *I.G.*, II² as quoted in note 6; *Jahreshefte*, XV, 1912, Beiblatt, pp. 82-96; *B.S.A.*, XI, 1904/5, pp. 63 ff.; *Ath. Mitt.*, LIX, 1934, pp. 42, 72 (Skyros); *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, pp. 93-94, no. 14; X, 1941, pp. 53-54, nos. 16-18; Sundwall, "Unedited Inscriptions from Athens," *Journal of the Russian Ministry of Public Instruction*, Leningrad, 1912, pp. 253-267 (in Russian. I have a reprint of this article which is nowhere cited in publications of such inscriptions. There are sixteen *horoi* inscriptions there, including eight ἐπὶ λύσει).

⁹ Cf. Gloag and Irvine, *Law of Rights in Security*, 1897, Chap. IV.

λύσει was a real sale for a definite amount, but it was also considered a mortgage, and a *horos* was set up near the house or on the property so that any passer-by could learn the price, and it was not hidden away in the archives of the courthouse or even entirely concealed, as to-day.¹⁰

A piece of property was generally sold in *πρᾶσις ἐπὶ λύσει* to one person, but it could be conveyed to several individuals, corporations, families (*γένη*), orphaned children (*I.G.*, II², 2644, 2654, 2657), special phratries or their subdivisions, or to sacred and secular clubs (*θίασοι*). In an inscription which I found in 1907¹¹ in a shop on Pandrosus Street in Athens (not Aeolus Street, as Von Premenstein says) and which I had deposited in the Epigraphical Section of the National Museum at Athens, there are five mortgagees, more than in almost any other such inscription known to me.¹² The mortgages are given in descending amounts¹³ of 1500, 1200, 600, 150, and 100 drachmas to Kephisodoros, the *phrateres* with Eratostratos, the Glaukidai, the Epikleidai, and the *phrateres* with Nikon. As the value of the estate was reached, the size of the mortgage decreased and the order decided the priority of claim, if my reading is correct. These *horoi* inscriptions were not official records, which were the *συνθήκαι*, but they could be submitted as evidence in court where their genuineness was often disputed.¹⁴ They were, as Ferguson says,¹⁵ “ simply an advertisement made in

¹⁰ For further information on the conditions of such mortgages see the nine points made in *A.J.A.*, XVI, 1912, pp. 62-64. Cf. also the books cited in notes 7 and 8 above; Lipsius, *Das Attische Recht*, p. 692. Ziebarth's definition in *I.G.*, II², 2684 is not entirely correct, if we can trust the Sardis inscription.

¹¹ *A.J.P.*, XXVIII, 1907, pp. 430-432; *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXV, 1910, pp. 103-117; *I.G.*, II², 2670.

¹² In *I.G.*, II², 2692 perhaps the names of five mortgagees are to be restored.

¹³ Von Premenstein in *Ath. Mitt.*, *loc. cit.*, p. 104 wrongly read (line 8) for the second mortgage HH and interpreted X as the upsilon of Ἀναφλν(στίο), but the letter is chi and in the last line the abbreviation is Ἀναφλ(υστίο). Ἀναφλ. is the usual abbreviation in inscriptions; cf. Michel, *Recueil*, 832, line 4; *I.G.*, II², 1569, line 61; 1996, lines 145-146; 2019, lines 7, 17; 2051, lines 93, 95, 96; 2119, line 80. The letter under dispute is entirely different. It is entirely different from the five other cases of upsilon (lines 1, 2, 3, 4, 9) where the form is Y with three strokes. In line 8 the letter under discussion is χ . It was made with a long diagonal stroke / and a shorter diagonal stroke in the opposite direction which does not touch the first one. This is clear on the stone itself and can even be seen by a good eye in the photograph p. 104. The facsimile of Lattmann (*Ath. Mitt.*, *loc. cit.*, p. 105) is entirely incorrect in this letter. In other words the letter is made in a similar manner to the only other chi in a numeral (line 6) where the form is χ , made with three strokes and not two diagonals crossing one another (here again the facsimile is wrong). So in our letter there were meant to be three strokes, but the lower right short diagonal was never cut, as might easily be the case in a carelessly and roughly cut mortgage inscription. The second mortgage could not be 400 drachmas less than the third. It is a matter for regret that my original correct text has not been kept in Dittenberger's *Sylloge*³, 1197 and in *I.G.*, II², 2723, where no mention is made of my reading, which has been accepted by French and American scholars, Michel (*Recueil*, Suppl., 1738), Ferguson (*Class. Phil.*, V, 1910, p. 267; *Klio*, XI, 1911, p. 266), and other epigraphists who have seen the stone in Athens or a squeeze or photograph. Von Premenstein thinks that the stone comes from near Laurion and that may be true, though I was told by the owner that it was found in Athens near the Agora.

¹⁴ Cf. Beauchet, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 355 ff.

¹⁵ *Klio*, XI, 1911, p. 266.

the interest of third parties, or by a creditor interested in having the fact of a loan known to his debtor's neighbors in order to secure himself for the future against a possible denial of obligation.

I should like here to publish my third mortgage stone, of which the genuineness would perhaps not have been debated in an ancient Greek court. It was acquired from a dealer long years ago for my collection and is supposed to have been found in Marousi, northeast of Athens, probably near where *I.G.*, II², 2670 was unearthed. It is an irregular fragment of bluish Hymettian marble, badly blackened as if it had come through a fire. The back and side are rough-picked, but the original cut upper edge and left side remain smooth. The bottom is broken away. Originally the stone, which tapered toward the bottom, was much longer and had an uninscribed section which was set in the ground. The inscribed surface was only roughly dressed and is considerably lower below the third line, as if the stone had been reused, which might account for the peculiar order of words (see below), and for the fact that lines 4-8 begin one letter further to the left than the first three lines (cf. Fig. 1).

Height, 0.19 m.

Width at top 0.18 m.; at bottom
0.16 m.

Thickness, 0.03 m. to 0.04 m.

Height of letters, 0.01 m. (theta in
sixth line, omicron in last line)
to 0.02 m. (first rho in first
line).

ὄρος χωρίο
πεπραμέν-
ο ἐπὶ λύσε(ι)

καὶ οἰκίας·

5 ΧΧ Φιλοκτῆ-
μονι Ἀθμο-
νεῖ, Θεοκλε
[ι] Ἀθμονεῖ.

At the end of the third line the iota may not be preserved or it may have been omitted as in *I.G.*, II², 2749. The only other uncertainty in the reading is in line 8 where the first letters are obscure but they seem to be AOM and can be compared with the similar letters at the end of line 6. The slanting stroke after the alpha must then be a mistake or an accidental cutting. No other demotic than Ἀθμονεῖ will fill the traces of letters and the well-preserved ending -ονεῖ. It is possible to have two mortgagees and even from the same deme.¹⁶ It is interesting that this deme should be Athmonon of the tribe Kekropis, which is located near the modern Marousi¹⁷ where the inscrip-

¹⁶ *I.G.*, II², 2655 (same deme), 2693, 2695, 2705 (three mortgagees with two from the same deme), 2725, 2735 (two from same deme). In 2692 there seem to be five individual mortgagees, two from the same deme.

¹⁷ Cf. Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *R.E.*, s.v. and for similar stones from Athmonon, cf. *I.G.*, II², 2670, 2744 (dated in 315/4 B.C. by the archon Praxiboulos), and 2768. In *I.G.*, I², 865 are published two *horoi* stones of the precinct of Artemis Amarusia, found near Marousi. The region is fertile and has fine drinking water and produces delicious grapes (Aristophanes, *Peace*, 190, Τρυγαῖος Ἀθμονεὺς, ἀμπελουργὸς δεξιὸς). No wonder 2000 drachmas could be borrowed on such land especially when a house was erected on it, although at Olynthus a whole house could be bought for 900 to

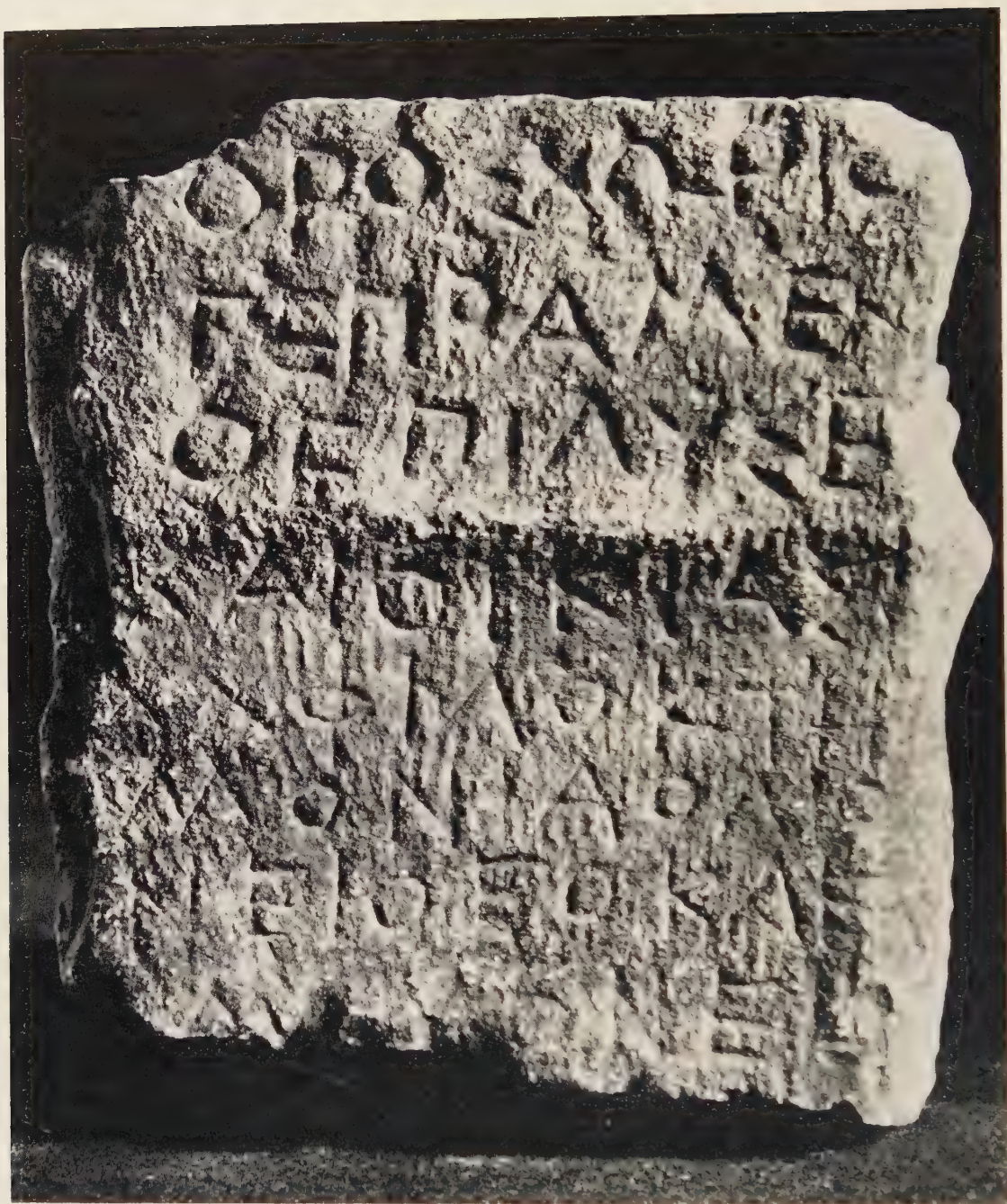


Fig. 1. Attic Mortgage Inscription in Baltimore

tion was probably found. The order of words is unique, and as has been said above, possibly lines 4-8 were added later, though I see no great differences in style of letters, except that omicron is smaller. There is, however, at least one parallel to the peculiar order of words,¹⁸ where we have [ὄρος ἐργαστηρίο] πεπραμένο ἐπὶ λύσει(ι) καὶ ἀνδραπόδων and in *I.G.*, II², 2741 we have the peculiar order ὄρος οἰκίας πε[πραμένης] καὶ τῶν Μελησ[ίου χωρίων?] ἐπὶ λύσει. Another unique feature of our inscription is the placing of the amount of the fairly large mortgage of 2000 drachmas before the names of the two mortgagees. The most important contribution of the inscription is the mention of two important Athmonians.¹⁹ Philoktemon is undoubtedly the father of a more famous Athmonian who was ἐπιμελητὴς τῶν νεωρίων in 334/3 B.C.²⁰ Theokles cannot be identified so easily, but he might be the banker Theokles in Demosthenes' *Oration for Apollodoros against Nikostratos*,²¹ who lent 1000 drachmas. He might be the Theokles of the tribe Kekropis (to which the deme Athmonon belonged), who is mentioned in *I.G.*, II², 2385, line 69 (middle of fourth century B.C.). The date of our inscription agrees with such identifications, and bankers are mentioned in such *horoi*.²² It must date between 350 and 325 B.C. The use of *o* for *ou*, the forms of the letters, and the lack of mention of the archon's name and of *συνθήκαι*²³ date the inscription considerably before 316 B.C. The fact that the deme name is not abbreviated as in the inscription which I published in *A.J.P.*, XXVIII, 1907, pp. 430-431, indicates an early date. That inscription is one of the earliest boundary stones known,²⁴ although *I.G.*, II², 2654 seems to be dated in 363/2 B.C. So I would date my new inscription a little earlier than the one with five mortgagees, which I have already published.

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2000 drachmas. The House of Zoïlus, with seventeen rooms, sold for 1200 drachmas; cf. *T.A.P.A.*, LXII, 1931, p. 43 (2000 dr.); LXIX, 1938, p. 48. For an interesting decree of Athmonon in honor of distributing officials (μεράρχαι), dating from 324/3 and found at Marousi, cf. *I.G.*, II², 1203. Cf. also *Ath. Mitt.*, XIII, 1888, p. 351.

¹⁸ *I.G.*, II², 2749. In *I.G.*, II², 2687 we have ὄρος οἰκίας, χωρίον with no connecting καί.

¹⁹ Cf. Kirchner, *Prosopographia Attica*, II, pp. 498-499 for those already known.

²⁰ *I.G.*, II², 1623; Kirchner, *op. cit.*, 14639.

²¹ LIII, 9.

²² For example cf. *I.G.*, II², 2741 (Eukles, τραπεζίτης).

²³ Cf. Dow-Travis, *Hesperia*, XII, 1943, pp. 159-161.

²⁴ Dow-Travis, *loc. cit.*, p. 161 agree with me in dating it ca. 350 B.C. Cf. *I.G.*, II², 2654.

A FRAGMENT OF A PROXENY DECREE FROM IOS

Fragment of white marble, broken on all sides. Height 0.120 m.; width 0.347 m.; thickness 0.278 m. Letters: height 0.009 m.; space between lines 0.006 m. Lettering of 3rd-2nd century B.C.

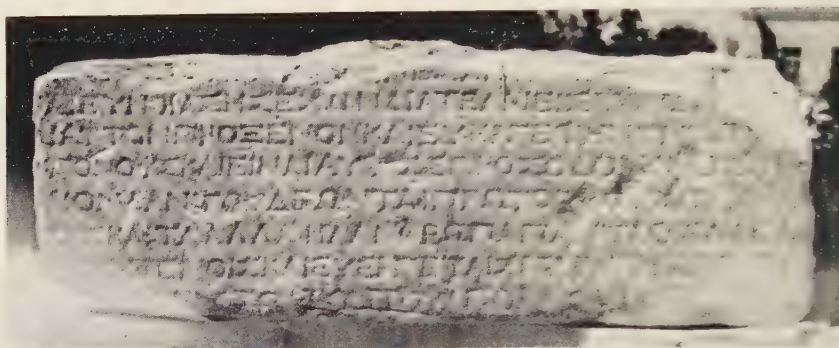


Fig. 1. Proxeny Decree from Ios

- [^{ca. 18}—^{ca. 3}—⁶⁻¹⁰— στεφάν]ωι κ[αὶ ἐπα]ινέσαι Ο[...]^{ca. 3} Δ[⁶⁻¹⁰—^{ca. 3}— φιλο-]
 [τιμίας ἔνεκα] καὶ εὐνοίας ἧς ἔχων διατελεῖ εἰς τὸν δῆ[μον τὸν]
 [Ἰητῶν καὶ εἰν]αὶ αὐτὸν πρόξενον καὶ εὐεργέτην τῆς π[όλεως]
 [αὐτὸν καὶ ἐ]κγόνους καὶ εἶναι αὐτοῖς πρόσοδον πρὸς τῇ[ν βου-]
 5 [λὴν καὶ τὸν δῆ]μον [ἐ]άν του δέωνται πρώτο[ις μ]ετ[ὰ] τὰ ἱερά· [εἶναι δὲ]
 [ἀτέλειαν αὐτ]οῖς καὶ τὰ ἄλλα φιλάνθρωπα πάντα ὅσα δεδ[ο]μένα
 [ἦν τοῖς ἄλλοις] προξένοις καὶ εὐεργέταις παρὰ τῆς πόλεω[ς. ἀναγρά-]
 [ψαι δὲ τὴν προξενίαν] εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλων[ος τοῦ Πυ]θ[ίου] — — —]

This stone was purchased by Prof. C. H. Morgan on Ios in 1936. It is now in the library of the American School of Classical Studies in Athens.

R. S.

INSCRIPTIONS FROM BEROEA

It was my good fortune to visit Beroea with Mr. C. F. Edson in the autumn of 1936 at a time when a group of ancient marbles had recently come to light in the course of excavations made during tree-planting. These remains, consisting of marble grave monuments,¹ architectural blocks, and pieces of tufa columns, still bearing traces of Roman plaster, were collected in an open space, the property of 'Αντώνιος Σαρρηκωστής, in the ὁδὸς Περιφεριακός (Fig. 1), whither they had been brought from their



Fig. 1. Inscriptions at Verria



Fig. 2. Circuit Wall of Beroea

original site, opposite the place where the Naoussa road branches from the road leading to the railway station of Verria, lying on the right, *i. e.* S. E. as one goes to the station. When we visited the site,² it became clear that the workmen had by a fortunate accident uncovered part of the circuit wall of Beroea (Fig. 2), built, in all probability, in the third century after Christ, like the Valerian Wall in Athens, to

¹ The Ephor, Mr. Kotzias, kindly gave us permission to publish these finds; it may be that some of them have subsequently appeared in a Greek or German journal, to which I have had no access. I am indebted to Mr. M. N. Tod for some helpful suggestions in preparing this paper.

² It is hoped that further investigation may be possible in happier times. If Beroea, second only to Thessalonica in wealth of surface remains, were to be excavated, the epigraphic harvest would be rich.

ward off the attacks of the barbarians; this date is supported by the lettering of the inscriptions. The unfinished state of the stones is ample proof of the urgency with which the wall was built. All are of snow-white marble, preserved in all its pristine freshness, straight from the cutter's yard. One (Fig. 3) has its relief, showing a boy with a goose (?), just blocked out; another (Fig. 4) figures a charming Cupid with a little dog holding out its paw; neither of these has any inscription. Even the inscribed stones were probably never used for the purpose for which they were originally intended, as they show no signs of weathering.

The following inscribed monuments were found.



Fig. 3. Stone from Wall of Beroea,
Boy with Goose (?)



Fig. 4. Stone from Wall of Beroea.
Cupid with Dog

1. "Macedonian" grave monument, of white marble, slightly damaged on right and left edges by workmen's tools; moulding at top, surmounted by incised gable with acroteria, and at bottom. Height, 1.17 m.; width, 0.535 m. (at top); 0.56 m. (at bottom); maximum thickness, 0.495 m. Letters: 0.014-0.017 m.; ϕ , ψ , 0.04 m.; inter-spaces, 0.012 m. (Fig. 5).

Κλαυδιανὸς θρέψας καὶ Κάστωρ
σύνγαμος ἀνὴρ ὅς τὺμβον ἔ-
τευξαν ἐμοί, μνημόσυνον φι-
λῆς ὅς Εἰμὶ δὲ μειμὰς ἐγὼ

- 5 Κύριλλα, ἣ πρίν ποτε δόξης ὦ
 ἀραμένα πλείστους ἐν θυμέ-
 λαις στεφάνους ὦ Νῦν δέ με
 Μοιράων μίτος ἤρπασε, κ<ο>ῦ-
 κέτ' αἰίδω ὦ κείμει δ' ἐν ζα-
 10 θέῃ μητροπόλει Βεροία.

Line 1. *Θρέψας*. The relationship of *θρεπτοί* to their foster-parents is the subject of a detailed study by A. Cameron in *Anatolian Studies Presented to W. H. Buckler* (Manchester, 1939), pp. 27-62.

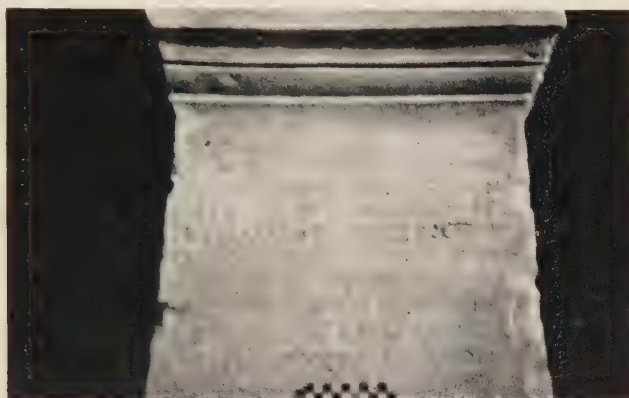


Fig. 5. Grave Monument (No. 1) from Beroea

Line 4. *Μειμάς*. This elegiac epigram, a welcome addition to our all too scanty knowledge of the theatrical profession in Imperial times,³ is the first epigraphic evidence, so far as I know, for the presentation of mimes in Macedonia. It is fitting that it should come from Beroea, the seat of the Imperial *Κοινὸν Μακεδόνων*, the *ἀγωνοθέται* of which presided at the Games of the Koinon and bore the expenses of staging them. The kind of games at which Cyrilla may have won her "many glorious crowns" is well described in the well-known inscription in honour of Q. Popillius Python,⁴ lines 12-17:

³ For this subject see, among others, E. Wüst (who does not, however, make full use of the epigraphic evidence), *Pauly-Wissowa, R.E., s.v., Mimos*, 1727-1764, especially 1755-7; L. Robert, *ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΟΣ* in *R.E.G.*, XLIX, 1936, pp. 235-54, where he remarks (pp. 238-9) on the comparatively limited information which we may expect from inscriptions: *Les inscriptions . . . peuvent nous faire connaître des acteurs de mimes, les villes où ils donnaient leurs représentations, les honneurs dont ils étaient gratifiés. Idem, "Pantomimen im griechischen Orient," Hermes*, LXV, 1930, pp. 106-122. We must, as Robert reminds us, *R.E.G., loc. cit.*, p. 238, note 2, "distinguer soigneusement les mimes, comédiens ou chanteurs ou bouffons, des pantomimes, danseurs." From lines 8-9 it appears that Cyrilla was a singer.

⁴ A full bibliography of this inscription is given in *J.R.S.*, XXX, 1940, p. 51, note 3.

καὶ καταργείλαντα καὶ ἀγαγόντα
 εἰσακτίους ἀγῶνας ταλαντιαίους
 θυμελικούς καὶ γυμνικούς, δόν-
 τα θηριομαχίας διὰ παντοίων ζώων
 ἐντοπίων καὶ ξενικῶν καὶ μονομαχί-
 ας κτλ.

Our inscription recalls the charming epigram from the theatre of Aquileia,⁵ in which a colleague pays graceful tribute to the μιμάς Bassilla:

τὴν πολλοῖς δῆμοισι πάρος, πολλαῖς δὲ πόλεσσι
 δόξαν φωνάεσσαν ἐνὶ σκηναῖσι λαβοῦσαν
 παντοίης ἀρετῆς ἐν μείμοις, εἶτα χοροῖσι,
 πολλάκις ἐν θυμέλαις, ἀλλ' οὐχ οὕτω δὲ θανούσῃ,
 5 τῇ δεκάτῃ Μούσῃ, τὸ λαλεῖν σοφὸς Ἡρακλείδης
 μειμάδι Βασσίλλῃ στήλῃν θέτο βιολόγος φῶς.
 ἥδη καὶ νέκυσ οὔσα ἴσῃν βίου ἔλαχε τειμήν.
 μουσικὸν εἰς δάπεδον σῶμ' ἀναπανσαμένη.
 Ταῦτα.

10 Οἱ σύσκηνοί σου λέγουσιν·
 εὐψύχει, Βάσσιλλα· οὐδεὶς ἀθάνατος.

Line 8. *Μοιράων μίτος*. This is a common cliché in funerary epigrams, appearing, in one form or another, at least a dozen times in Kaibel. The penultimate letter in this line appears to show the cross-bar of an epsilon, and it is unlikely that this is due to a chip by a workman's tool.

Line 10. *Μητροπόλει*. On the basis of a false restoration in a Beroean inscription in honour of Nerva,⁶ scholars have assumed that it was Nerva who bestowed the title of Metropolis on Beroea. The corrected reading, given in *J.R.S.*, XXX, 1940, pp. 50-52, proves that Nerva merely confirmed an honour already granted.

2. "Macedonian" grave monument, rather smaller than the usual type; moulding at top, surmounted by incised gable with acroteria, and at bottom; circle in centre

⁵ *C.I.G.*, 6750; Kaibel, *Ep. Gr.*, 609; *I.G.*, XIV, 2342 and *Add.*, p. 704; O. Crusius, *Herondas Mimiambi*⁵, p. 149.

⁶ Delacoulonche, *Archives des missions scientifiques et littéraires*, viii (1859), pp. 221-4 and p. 252, no. 44; Demitsas, *ἡ Μακεδονία* (Athens, 1896), p. 66, no. 55. The title of Metropolis occurs in the following inscriptions from Beroea: the Popillius Python inscription cited in footnote 4; Rostovtzeff, *Bull. de l'Inst. russe à Constantinople* (in Russian), IV, 3, 1899, pp. 175-6, no. 3 (republished as new by Woodward, *B.S.A.*, XVIII, 1911-12, pp. 148-9); A. E. Contoléon, *Νέα Σμύρνη*, 9th Sept., 1889, no. 3937 and *R.E.G.*, XV, 1902, pp. 141-2 (republished as new by Rostovtzeff, *loc. cit.*, pp. 176-7, no. 4 and Woodward, *loc. cit.*, p. 148, no. 6); Orlandos, *Ἀρχ. Δελτ.*, II, 1916, pp. 156-7, no. 14, and p. 157, no. 15; L. Robert, *Rev. Phil.*, XIII, 1939, pp. 128-132, nos. 1 and 2.

of pediment; traces of Roman cement on right side. Height, 0.92 m.; maximum width, 0.455 m.; maximum thickness, 0.445 m. Letters: 0.035 m.; Φ , 0.07 m.; interspaces 0.015 m. (Fig. 6). It will be noticed that two forms of omicron and omega occur on the stone. The inscription is in the form of an elegiac couplet:



Fig. 6. Grave Monument (No. 2)
from Beroea

Ἀντιγόνῳ
Λεύκη τύν-
βον τεύξα-
σα συνένῳ Ϝ
5 θήκατο σωφρο-
σύνης σύνθε-
μα καὶ φιλίας Ϝ

Line 2. Λεύκη. Bechtel, *Hist. Personennamen*, p. 278, quotes the masculine Λεύκος from *I.G.*, XII (3), 795. Demitsas, *op. cit.*, p. 472, no. 429, gives Τυλλία Λευκή, showing by his accentuation that he derives the name from λευκή, *white*, not from λεύκη, *white poplar*.

Lines 6-7. For σύνθεμα (= σύνθημα, *token, pledge*) see Liddell and Scott *s.v.*, and cf. ἐπίθεμα & ἐπίθημα; ἀνάθεμα & ἀνάθημα; ἔνθεμα & ἔνθημα, *etc.*

3. Upper portion of a "Macedonian" grave monument; moulding, surmounted by incised gable, with acroteria; circle in centre of pediment; design repeated on right and left sides of stone; traces of Roman cement. Maximum extant height, 1.25 m.; maximum width, 0.66 m.; maximum thickness, 0.465 m. Letters (Imperial, of poor quality, ϵ , \omicron , ς , ω): line 1, 0.035-0.04 m.; rest of inscription, 0.03 m.; Φ , 0.07 m.; interspaces, lines 1-5, 0.015 m.; lines 5-6, 0.02-0.025 m.

Ἰούλιον Περικλέα
Ἡρακλεώτην Πομπο-
νία Μαρκία τὸν γλυκύ-
τατον ἄνδρα καὶ φι-
5 λοθηρότατον καὶ πάν-
τα ἄριστον εἰς αὐτὴν
γενόμενον ἥρωα.

Line 2. Iulius Pericles is perhaps a native of Heracleia Lyncestis, rather than of Heracleia Sintice.

Lines 4-5. Φιλοθηρότατος is a rather surprising epithet in a catalogue of marital virtues.

4. Grave monument; moulding at top, surmounted by incised gable with acroteria, and at bottom; in centre of pediment, a wheel with four spokes; same decoration on right and left sides, but these have a simple triangle. Though the lettering is good, the workmanship of the stone in general is inferior; it seems to have experienced more weathering than the rest before being built into the wall, if indeed it ever was; there are no traces of cement. Height, 1.20 m.; width, 0.505 m. (at top), 0.49 m. (at bottom); maximum thickness, 0.425 m. Letters, 0.035 m.; interspaces, 0.015-0.02 m. There are no ligatures; letter-forms: Ε, Ο, Σ, Ω.

Κλεαγόρα Βότ-
 ρυῖ τῷ νύῳ ἐκ
 τῶν ιδίων μνεί-
 ας χάριν· χαῖ-
 5 ρε παροδείτα.

Lines 1-2. Βότρυς occurs in another Macedonian inscription published by A. Struck, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXVII, 1902, p. 308, no. 8. Bechtel lists it in *Hist. Personennamen*, p. 592, under names derived from plants and trees.

5. "Macedonian" grave monument; moulding at top, surmounted by incised gable with acroteria, and at bottom. Height, 1.28 m.; maximum width, 0.53 m.; maximum thickness, 0.455 m. Letters, line 1, 0.04 m.; lines 2-4, 0.035 m.; Φ, 0.088 m.; interspaces, 0.025 m. Letter-forms: Ε, Ο, Σ, Ω; ligatures: ΜΕ, ΜΕ, ΝΗ.

Φιλουμενή Ἀ-
 χιλλεῖ τῷ ιδίῳ
 ἀνδρὶ μνείας
 χάριν.

Line 1. Φιλουμενή. This name occurs in an inscription published by A. Orlandos, *Ἀρχ. Δελτ.*, II, 1916, pp. 152-3, no. 6.

6. Large grave monument; moulding at top, surmounted by incised gable with acroteria, and at bottom; circle in pediment; same design on right and left sides; many traces of Roman cement. Height, 1.645 m.; width, 0.685 m. (at top), 0.67 m. (at bottom); maximum thickness, 0.48 m. Letters, 0.04 m.; interspaces, 0.012 m. Letter-forms: Σ, ◇, Σ, ◇.

Ἰλιανὸς Δημήτριος Πο-
 σιδωνεῖω τῷ συγγε-
 νῷ μνείας χάριν.

Line 1. Ἰλιανός may be for Αἰλιανός, which occurs four times in Demitsas.

7. Fragment of Roman grave stele, broken away at top, left, and bottom; the lower right extremity of the relief area is just visible; surface covered with hard Roman cement. Maximum height, 0.45 m.; maximum width, 0.35 m.; thickness, 0.06 m. Letters, 0.03-0.035 m.; interspaces, 0.01-0.015 m.

---|ημα Ϻ
 ---- τῶ εἰδί-
 [φ τέ]κνω ἐκ τῶν
 |εἰ]δίων μνίας
 5 Ϻ χάριν Ϻ
 ἐν ἀποδημίᾳ
 τελευτήσαντι.

Line 1. One would expect this to be part of a name, such as Φιλ]ημά[τιον, but the position of the leaf is against a restoration on these lines.

Lines 6-7. This phrase occurs in an inscription published by Orlandos, *Ἀρχ. Δελτ.*, II, 1916, p. 159, no. 22.

8. Fragment of grave stone, broken left and bottom; damaged on right side of face; incised gable at top with acroteria on right and circle in pediment; traces of Roman cement. Maximum height, 0.445 m.; maximum width, 0.27 m.; thickness, 0.09 m. Letters, lines 1-4, 0.04 m.; lines 5-6, 0.045-0.05 m.; ϕ, 0.075 m.; interspaces, lines 1-3, 0.01 m.; lines 3-6, 0.003-0.005 m.

-- ΔΙΑΑ τῶ
 γλυκ]υτάτ<φ>
 (?) νίῳ] Φιλοξέ-
 (?) νω--] / ◇ ΝΕ Κ
 5 μ]νίας
 χά]ριν.

Line 1. The comparatively rare feminine Ζ]φίλα would fit the traces, but it makes line 1 very much shorter than the following lines. Θεο]φίλα might be suggested, but the remains of the first letter in line 1 cannot belong to a phi of the diamond-shaped type in line 3; this objection is not final, as diamond-shaped omicrons alternate with rounded in inscriptions of this date, and perhaps the same might be the case with phi.

Lines 2-3. The last visible letter of line 2 is Ϻ (corrected <φ>); that of line 3 is l with traces of horizontals to right at top and middle, interpreted ε.

9. Small fragment of marble slab. Height, 0.195 m.; width, 0.23 m.; thickness, 0.028 m. Letters, 0.023 m. Lines ruled on face of stone for alinement of letters; inscription probably never completed.

ΝΔΠΙ / ? ἀ]νδρί.

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AN OBSCURE INSCRIPTION ON A GOLD TABLET

At a meeting of the Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica held in 1852, a Jesuit archaeologist, R. P. Gianpietro Secchi, gave a brief account of an inscription which had recently come to light.¹ It was engraved on a thin plate of gold, and the circumstances of its discovery were strange indeed. The excavator, Gaetano Canestrelli, found it in the mouth of a skull—noteworthy, according to the report, for its perfect set of strong teeth—which was enclosed in a terracotta urn unearthed at the Vigna Codini, near the tomb of the Scipios; the neighboring ground had already yielded a number of leaden curse-tablets. The present location of the gold plate is unknown, at least to me; the scholars who have discussed it since Secchi seem to have done so without re-examining the object.

Secchi's reading of the inscription is as follows:

ΑΙΩΝΕΠΤΕΤΑ ΚΥΠΙΕ ΣΑΡΑΤΤΙ ΔΟC ΝΕΙΚΗΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΠΑΙΝ ΥΠΟΤΤΕΤΡΑΝ

Nothing is said about the arrangement of the words on the plate.² To judge by its obviously small size and by some similar objects, such as the silver petalon published by D. M. Robinson,³ the forty-seven letters may well have been divided into several lines. Adequate information about the form of the letters is also lacking. With the C-shaped sigma used in Secchi's text, amulets usually show the forms € and ω; when the form £ is used, we find E and w.

Secchi's interpretation is rather bewildered. He read αιων επτετα as one word, rendering it *acvigradus*, but did not elucidate the meaning of that word, which is not elsewhere attested, and would probably be viewed with suspicion by Latinists. He took παυ to be the accusative of παῖς, although that poetical form of παῖς is not likely to have been used by the writer of a short charm in prose. As to δος νίκην, κτλ., some youthful memory of girls and grottoes (grato, Pyrrha, sub antro!) seems to have stolen into the mind of the scholar, only to be banished by the frown of a clerical conscience. Of these words he says:

“This invocation (i. e. of Sarapis) is followed by a prayer most unworthy of

¹ *Bull. dell' Inst.*, 1852, pp. 151-2. At later dates the inscription was briefly discussed by the following scholars, whose remarks will be hereafter cited by the name of the author without other reference: Panofka, *Arch. Anzeiger* (issued with *Arch. Zeitung*), 1854, p. 441; Froehner, “Sur une amulette basilidienne,” Caen, 1867, p. 9 (reprinted, with renumbered pages, from *Bull. de la soc. des antiquaires de Normandie*, VII, pp. 217 ff.); Drexler, *Woch. für klass. Philol.*, III, 1886, p. 1432; Wünsch, *Sethianische Verfluchungstafeln*, 1898, p. 101.

² Panofka and Wünsch speak of the text as in two lines, which seems to be merely an inference from the circumstance that Secchi discussed the invocation and the prayer separately.

³ In *Classical and Mediaeval Studies in Honor of E. K. Rand*, pp. 245 ff. and pl. I.

a decent man, yet very frequent in the immense moral disorder of pagan idolatry. The worshipper asks for victory over the natural virtue of an innocent girl."

What would Father Secchi have thought of the extremely plain-spoken love-charms in P. Oslo I? However, the innocent girl of his interpretation is a mere figment, as we shall see. Yet it is not very strange that he succeeded no better in interpreting the inscription, considering how little was known in his time of ancient magic, the lower manifestations of popular religion, and the language used by the simpler people.

Other scholars have done little more to explain this brief text. Panofka held that the prayer merely commended a girl who had died at an early age to the protection of Sarapis, the god of the lower world—a view which ignores the natural meaning of both *νίκην* and *κατά*. Froehner, who treats the inscription in a note on his publication of another amulet, would read *ὑπόπειραν* and regard *πᾶν* (erroneously written *παιν*) as a grammatical irregularity for *πᾶσαν*—a point to which we shall return later. He would then translate, "grant victory over every temptation." Such a petition on a pagan amulet is probably unexampled; and if we could assume Christian influence in the language of a prayer to Sarapis, we should expect a form of *πειρασμός*. *Ὑπόπειρα*, by the way, does not seem to be found elsewhere, although *ὑποπειράω*, "attempt to seduce," occurs in Alciphron and Aelian.

W. Drexler, who examined the inscriptions on a great number of amulets, rejected Secchi's explanation of our text without adding anything of his own, and Lafaye cites it without comment in his *Les divinités d' Alexandrie*.⁴ As far as I know, the inscription was last discussed by Wünsch, who was chiefly interested in the invocation of Sarapis.⁵ He rejected Secchi's explanation of the prayer as impossible, but confesses that the sense is not clear; "but in any event it is certain that the words are addressed to Sarapis as lord of the lower world, and that he is called *αἰὼν ἐρπέτα*."

If anything is to be made of this little inscription, it is well to begin with a general observation that I have found to be true after examining many magical amulets. Apart from brief acclamations like *εἰς θεός, εἰς Ζεὺς Σάραπισ, νικᾷ ἡ Ἴσις*, few of them express any religious feeling, and still fewer convey a moral idea, such as the wish to overcome temptation. Most of these objects were made for a practical purpose—to gain favor for the wearer in his dealings with his superiors, to win the love of some particular person, to insure protection against disease and various dangers. This plate can perhaps be best explained as an amulet against a danger well known to most Mediterranean peoples, and especially in Egypt, the home of the

⁴ Page 323, no. 205.

⁵ The inscription is mentioned briefly by Cumont, *Textes et Monuments*, I, p. 76, note 6; *C. R. Acad. Inscr.*, 1928, p. 278, note 4; by Reitzenstein, *Gött. Nachrichten*, 1904, p. 319, note 5; and by Weinreich, *Arch. f. Religionswiss.*, XIX, 1916-19, p. 189, note 3.

Sarapis-cult—namely, the sting of scorpions and, it may be, the bite of poisonous snakes. Let us examine the prayer itself, passing over the invocation for the moment.

First of all, it seems certain that ΠΑΙΝ is simply an error for ΠΑΝ; the maker carelessly scratched a superfluous hasta. On this point Froehner was undoubtedly right. Next, I would read ὑπὸ πέτραν. Then, if one makes allowance for several laxities of language, such as are familiar to papyrologists and other students of late popular Greek, the prayer may be rendered, “Grant victory over everything under a rock.” The last words seem very vague and may have been chosen to avoid mentioning something hated and feared. They take on a more definite meaning when we confront them with a proverbial expression occurring in several forms, all of which refer to the danger from scorpions lurking under stones.

Soph. Fr. 37 (Pearson): ἐν παντὶ γάρ τοι σκορπίος φρουρεῖ λίθῳ.

Praxilla Fr. 4 (Bergk): ὑπὸ παντὶ λίθῳ σκορπίον, ὦ ταῖρε, φυλάσσεο.⁶

See also the skolion (20, Diehl, *Anth. Lyr.*, II, p. 187) cited by Athenaeus (695 D); Aristophanes, *Thesm.*, 528, with ῥήτωρ for σκορπίος, παρὰ προσδοκίαν; and other passages gathered by Pearson and Diehl in their notes on the fragments cited.

There are difficulties that meet the eye at once, particularly in the circumstance that all the proverbial passages use the word λίθος. Yet the words for stone and rock were not always carefully discriminated, especially in later Greek, just as in American and Australian English “rock” is often used by careless speakers for a stone of moderate or even small size. Πέτρος is to some extent synonymous with λίθος, though less common in Attic prose, and πέτρα seems occasionally to have been used carelessly for πέτρος, as in Xenophon, *Anab.*, 4, 2, 20 (ἐκυλίνδουν πέτρας, cf. ἐπεκυλίνδουν πέτρους, *Hell.*, 3, 5, 20), where, it is true, the best authority, the first hand of manuscript C, has πέτρους. Galen, who touches upon the matter in beginning his chapters on medicinal minerals, ridicules the distinction between πέτρα and πέτρος as a mere pedantry; and in Modern Greek, πέτρα is the ordinary word for a stone—“pelt with stones” is παίρνω με ταῖς πέτραις.⁷ Our inscription cannot be accurately dated without inspecting the original tablet, yet it is probably not earlier than Galen’s time, and may be later, like many of the lead tablets found near by. We can scarcely doubt that to the writer ὑπὸ πέτραν was equivalent to ὑπὸ λίθῳ or ὑπὸ πέτρῳ. Hence there is little need for another argument, namely, that scorpions and some snakes like the cool shadow of cliffs and massive rocks as well as the shelter of smaller stones—a fact which travellers and archaeologists have sometimes learned to their cost among the tombs and temples of Egypt.

⁶ Diehl apparently doubts the authorship of Praxilla and does not list the verse among her fragments.

⁷ I owe this observation to H. C. Youtie, who has also contributed some of the references in note 9. The passage in Galen is *Simpl. medicam.*, Vol. XII, 194 (Kühn).

The construction of *ὑπό* with the accusative to express position under anything, with no motion implied, is apparently more common in later Greek than that with the dative, and needs no defense.⁸ But in post-classical as well as in classical times *κατά* is normally used with the genitive, not the accusative, to mean "against," "over," in connection with a hostile act or attitude. Consequently, if there is any merit in the interpretation suggested above, we are obliged to adopt one of two explanations.

1) The engraver may have expressed himself vaguely rather than precisely, saying "Give me victory in relation to everything under a rock," instead of "over everything," etc.

2) We may have here an instance of an irregular extended use of the (properly) neuter accusative *πάν*.

There is evidence from inscriptions, papyri, and ecclesiastical texts showing that *πάν* was sometimes put in place of the masculine accusative *πάντα*.⁹ Whether it encroached still further upon the other forms of the adjective is uncertain. Froehner thought that *πάν* stood for *πάσαν* in our text, and also in his own amulet, where we find the words [ὀρκίζω] . . . *πάν πτωματισμὸν καὶ πάν ὑδροφόβαν*.¹⁰ The first *πάν* certainly takes the place of *πάντα*, but, contrary to Froehner's opinion, the second does also, for *ὑδροφόβαν* is not an error for the feminine *ὑδροφοβίαν*, but the accusative of a masculine *ὑδροφόβας*, which Plutarch and some medical writers use as an equivalent of *ὑδροφοβία*.¹¹ Furthermore *πάσαν* occurs twice in Froehner's amulet just after the words I have cited. Thus there is still no evidence for *πάν* = *πάσαν*, and I have not found *πάν* elsewhere used for *παντός*. But since in our text *πάν* is not accompanied by a noun, which might have obliged the writer to follow the grammatical norm, I incline to think that he here allowed himself this otherwise unparalleled license.

Of the request it only remains to say that while *δὸς νίκην* may seem a weighty expression to use in a prayer for immunity from the attacks of scorpions or reptiles, it is (like *δὸς χάριν*) so widely and loosely used in amulets that it scarcely calls for comment.

We turn now to the invocation, and particularly to the words *αἰὼν ἐρπέτα*.¹² In

⁸ Compare Liddell-Scott-Jones *ὑπό* B 1 with *ὑπό* C 2.

⁹ Mayser, *Gram. d. Griech. Pap.*, I², part 2, p. 32, lines 39-46; Helbing, *Gram. d. Sept.*, p. 51; Reinhold, *De graec. Patrum*, p. 52; somewhat analogous later developments cited by Psaltes, *Gram. d. byz. Chronikon*, p. 160, notes 1 and 2. The word *πᾶς* had evidently taken one step towards becoming an indeclinable; that the tendency went no further is due, apparently, to the fact that almost all forms of the word were disused in Modern Greek, being replaced by *ὅλος* and *κάθε*.

¹⁰ *Op. cit.* (see note 1), p. 7, lines 6-7 of the inscription.

¹¹ To the references in Liddell-Scott-Jones, add *Musée Belge*, XVIII, 1914, pp. 70-73; there Delatte gives a full description of a jasper amulet in Athens which bears the inscription *φύγε δαίμων ὑδροφόβα ἀπὸ τοῦ φοροῦντος τοῦτο τὸ φυλακτήριον*.

¹² Because of its verbal origin I give *ἐρπέτης* paroxytone accent (Kühner-Blass, I, p. 391), though it does not conform strictly to the rule.

discussing a text of such slight importance as this can claim, it would be inappropriate to enter upon so complicated a subject as the development of *αἰών* from the simple meaning of *life, time*, into a philosophical concept and into a name for a divine entity. Nock's treatment of the matter in his "A Vision of Mandulis Aion" not only serves as a valuable introduction to the topic, but also carries it as far as many inquirers will need to go.¹³ It is clear that the idea of eternity carried by this word from Plato on caused Aion to become a kind of hypostasis in relation to more than one deity. Thus Agathodaimon is Aion in magical texts,¹⁴ the sun is invoked as Agathodaimon,¹⁵ and the connection between Aion and the sun is fairly well made out.¹⁶ Apart from this gold plate, evidence for a connection between Aion and Sarapis is scanty: but ΑΙΩΝ, evidently for ΑΙΩΝ, appears in the field of an amethyst intaglio in the British Museum (No. 56427), where the design is a bearded head of Sarapis, adorned with six rays and wearing the modius, on top of a jar. Through the right handle of the jar a stalk of grain is thrust, through the left a kerykeion with snakes and wings.

A better example has been brought to my attention by A. D. Nock, who has generously allowed me the use of a piece of evidence in his possession. This is a photograph of an inscription which at least up to 1937 was in the collection of the late Carl Schmidt, who in that year presented the photograph to Mr. Nock. In doing so, he laid no restriction upon its use, and I therefore present the text here.¹⁷ It is noteworthy for the syncretism which brings together Zeus, Helios, Sarapis, and Aion.

Διὶ Ἡλίῳ μεγάλῳ
 Σαράπιδι Αἰῶνι
 Μοροτταῖς καὶ Ἡρών ἐνχή.

¹³ *Harvard Theological Review*, XXVII, pp. 53-104, especially pp. 78-99. My indebtedness to this work will be patent to any reader, and I also owe to Mr. Nock some important references and comments used in these notes. Among the many works dealing with Aion, the following may be mentioned: C. Lackeit, *Aion* (part 1: continuation has not appeared), Königsberg diss., 1916; *idem*, "Aion" in Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, Suppl. III, 64; Weinreich, *Arch. f. Religionswiss.*, XIX, 1916-19, pp. 174-190; Zepf, *ibid.*, XXV, pp. 225-244; Cumont, *C. R. Acad. Inscr.*, 1928, pp. 274-282.

¹⁴ *Pap. Gr. Mag.*, IV, 3168 ff.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, IV, 1597 and 1607.

¹⁶ Nock, *loc. cit.*, p. 84, with lines 18-19 of the Mandulis inscription (p. 63); Cumont, *Textes et Monuments*, I, p. 80, and note 3.

¹⁷ Measurements of the stone are not available; it presents a trapezoidal face, the sides sloping slightly outward to the base. The letters of the second line are broadened, those of the third narrowed, to fit the space. An abrasion or weathering of the stone at the right side reached as far as the final iota of line 2, but even allowing for this, there can hardly have been a nu after *αχη* in line 3. The lettering seems to be of the fourth century after Christ, possibly of the early fifth.

The provenance of the stone is unknown, but it may well have come from Egypt, where Schmidt acquired many antiquities. This is made slightly more probable by the occurrence of the name Heron, which is common in Egypt. Further, the strange name Μοροτταῖς may be made (with an Egyptian confusion of λ and ρ) on the stem of Μολοττός, which occurs in Egypt as a personal name, though in the form Μολοσσός. Still another indication of Egyptian origin may be found in the similarity of this dedication to two others listed by Seymour de Ricci, *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, II, 446 (no. 72), 450 (no. 87). Both are addressed to Διὶ Ἡλίῳ Μεγάλῳ Σαράπιδι ἐν Κανώβῳ.

In a curious passage of the Alexander romance of Pseudo-Callisthenes¹⁸ the phrase Αἰὼν Πλουτώνιος (where Αἰὼν is a probable if not a certain restoration) seems to designate Sarapis, whose resemblance to Hades is well known, and who is often represented with Cerberus at his feet. That Sarapis is actually meant is made certain, in my judgment, by the fact that Aion Plutonium is spoken of as the patron god of Alexandria, by the mention of a very sacred xoanon of Sarapis, and by the incident of the eagle,¹⁹ a common attribute of Sarapis, especially on coins and late gems.²⁰

In ἐρπέτα Wünsch rightly recognized the vocative of ἐρπέτης, a form parallel to ἐρπετόν and ἐρπηστής, but not recorded elsewhere. It reminds us that a serpent with his tail in his mouth was a symbol of Aion,²¹ and occurs on hundreds of magical amulets, where, to be sure, its meaning was often scarcely present in the mind of the maker. If our gold leaf is an amulet against creeping things, the word ἐρπέτα is appropriate for a practical reason; the serpent god controls his creatures. The word is evidently more closely pertinent to Aion than to Sarapis; but it is to be remembered that a serpent with the head of Sarapis is known as an Alexandrian coin-type (Sarapis-Agathodaimon)²² and there is other evidence for the serpent as an attribute of this divinity.

Finally, it may seem strange that an amulet against scorpions or snakes should be put into the mouth of a corpse. But any amulet valued in life might be buried with the dead,²³ and the mouth, even in life, often served as a purse²⁴—as it does now, all too often, among lowly folk in many places. Besides, snakes were imagined as adding to the terrors of Hades from the time of Aristophanes²⁵ to the Apocalypse of Peter,²⁶ and may well have been among the “properties” of the Orphic Hell.

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

CAMPBELL BONNER

¹⁸ 1, 30, 6; 1, 33, 2.

¹⁹ 1, 33, 4-5.

²⁰ Sarapis as Pluto would be the husband of Kore; and since Sarapis is called Aion, it is surprising that Aion appears as the child of Kore in the strange Alexandrian ceremony described by Epiphanius (*Panarion*, 51, 22; Nock, *loc. cit.*, pp. 90 f.). But we have no right to assume a connection between the cult mentioned by Epiphanius and the story told by Pseudo-Callisthenes. They may represent different mythological tendencies. However, there would be nothing strange in an idea that Aion generated Aion. The legend αἰὼν accompanies the self-renewing phoenix (Numidian crane with radiate nimbus) on coins of Antoninus Pius (*B. M. Cat., Alexandria*, no. 1004, pl. XXVI; Vogt, *Die Alexandr. Münzen*, part 2, 68).

²¹ Cumont, *Textes et Monuments*, I, p. 80; *Festschrift für O. Benndorff*, pp. 292 f.

²² *B. M. Cat., Alexandria*, no. 745, pl. XIV; Vogt, *op. cit.*, part 2, 55 (and other examples from Hadrian through the reign of Commodus).

²³ Cf. Siebourg on the gold amulet found at Gellep in the Rhineland, *Bonner Jahrb.*, CII, pp. 123 ff., esp. 127, 152.

²⁴ Cf. Aristophanes, *Wasps*, 791, and the custom of placing an obol in the mouth of the dead; the significance of this “fare for Charon” is treated in Rohde, *Psyche*, I, p. 306, note 3; Wilamowitz, *Glaube der Hellenen*, I, p. 311; D. M. Robinson, *Excavations at Olynthus*, XI, pp. 202-206.

²⁵ Aristophanes, *Frogs*, 143; cf. 278.

²⁶ *Apoc. Petri*, 10 (25).

ΕΠΕΝΙΚΤΟΣ

The text of the lead tablet of the fourth century before Christ from Phalasarna in western Crete (No. 9355, National Museum, Athens)¹ is for the most part nonsensical. Different kinds of nonsense appear, chiefly the following four.

- 1) The Ἐφέσια γράμματα, lines 6 ff.: ασκι κατασκι,² etc.
- 2) Other barbaric groups of letters, line 3: πυξενταυαγαλις; lines 3 and 9: τετραγος, etc.
- 3) Greek words and phrases in no intelligible context, line 3: αἰαῖ ἐγὼ δ' ἔλκει; line 8: μακάρων κατ' ἀμαξιτόν ἀνδάν, etc.
- 4) Greek words more or less corrupt, line 5: δαντων for βάντων or δράντων; line 7: καταδεσ[.]α εδαθη καταλμαξιτον for κατάδεσμα ἐδόθη (or δοθή) κατ' ἀμαξιτόν, etc.

To Group 4 belongs the last line (11), except its end (οὔτε πατῶ γῆι σίντορα πάντων α[---]), which belongs to Group 3. By altering three letters we obtain a good hexameter and the beginning of another:

οὔ με καταχρί[στω]ι δηλήσεται οὔτ' ἐπενίκτωι
οὔτε ποτῶι

οὔ με *scripsi*: ομε *tab.* (this is no alteration; cf. line 5 αυτο = αὐτοῦ, line 6 κηπο = κήπου). καταχρίστωι *suppl.* Ziebarth. δηλήσεται *cj.* S. Eitrem, *Nordisk Tidsskrift for Filologi*, 1922, p. 115: δηλησεται (hardly Arcadian) *tab.* ἐπενίκτωι *scripsi*: επηνικτωι *tab.* ποτῶι *scripsi*: πατωι *tab.*

The last two emendations are supported by a parallel sentence in a Cnidian lead tablet of the second century before Christ:³

εἴ τι ἢ ἐμοὶ πεποίκει (!) φάρμ[ακον] ἢ ποτὸν ἢ κατάχριστον ἢ ἐπακτὸν [ἢ τι] ἡμῶν ---.

As Ziebarth saw, *κατάχριστος* occurs only in these two texts.

Ἐνικτός is a legitimate, if unattested, verbal adjective from ἐν(ε)ικ-, the substitute for φέρω in some tenses; cf. *προσενεκτέον* Aristotle, *Magna moralia*, 1199 b 29;

¹ Edited by E. Ziebarth, *Gött. Nachrichten*, 1899, p. 129; R. Wünsch, *Rh. Mus.*, LV, 1900, p. 73; D. Levi, *Stud. Ital.*, II, 1922, p. 394; Chester C. McCown, *T.A.P.A.*, LIV, 1923, p. 132; M. Guarducci, *Inscr. Cret.*, II (1939), p. 223 (known to me from information kindly given by Mr. P. A. Clement; no copy seems to be available in England). For the epigraphical evidence one still depends on the inadequate reproduction in the first edition.

² For ασκι κατασκι cf. *P. Mag.*, 7, 45; *P. Mich.*, III, 154, 12; for λιξ τετραξ cf. McCown, *loc. cit.*, p. 137.

³ *Griech. Dialekt-Inschriften*, III, i, 3545; *I.G.*, III, Part iii, Appendix (*Defixionum Tabellae*, ed. Wünsch), p. xii; Audollent, *Defix. Tab.*, no. 8.

συμπεριενεκτέον Socrates in Stobaeus, IV, xxv, 42 (Hense). Φερτός (σύμφορτος) is equally rare.

Cretan ἐπένικτος and Cnidian ἐπακτός are probably synonymous, characterizing a remedy as administered to the skin by being *applied* (as opposed to being *rubbed in*): cf. Theocritus, XI, lines 1 f., φάρμακον . . . οὐτ' ἔγχριστον . . . οὐτ' ἐπίπαστον; Hippocrates, *Hum.*, 5 (5, 484 L.), χρίμασιν ἐγχρίσμασιν ἐπιπλάστοισιν ἐπιπάστοισιν ἐπιδέτοισιν ἐπιθέτοισιν. But since neither ἐπιφέρω nor ἐπάγω is quoted from other pharmaceutical texts, it will be difficult to give a more precise explanation.⁴

The whole sentence is closely related to lines 227 f. of the Homeric hymn to Demeter, one of the few magical passages in early epic poetry:

θρέψω κοῦ μιν, ἔολπα, κακοφραδίῃσι τιθήνης
οὐτ' ἄρ' ἐπηλυσίῃ δηλήσεται οὐθ' ὑποτάμνον.

The inscription may depend on the hymn; more probably both depend on a hexametric charm similar to those of the Philinna Papyrus which I have just reconstructed in vol. LXII of the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*.

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⁴ The magical sense of ἐπάγω, ἐπαγωγή, etc., where daemons are the object, does not fit a pharmaceutical context. I agree, however, with H. J. Stukeley, *Class. Phil.*, XXXII, 1937, p. 35, note 18 that ἐπακτός in *Lex sacra Cyren.*, B 5, line 30 might be a spirit; cf. my *Epidaurische Hymnen* (1933), p. 139 and *Orph. H.*, 36 (37), 7 f. But I cannot explain ἱκέσιος in this connection.

GROUPS OF EARLY ATTIC BLACK-FIGURE

TO THE MEMORY OF MICHAEL VLASTO

"Early Attic Black-figure" may be thought of as beginning with the establishment of the full black-figure technique in Attica, and ending with the creation, early in the second quarter of the sixth century, of a new, subtle and fastidious style, both in shapes and in decoration, by Ergotimos, Kleitias and their companions. The upper limit is natural, although some writers, among them J. M. Cook in his excellent study of "Protoattic Pottery,"¹ describe the Nessos amphora as late Protoattic, and make the Gorgon painter begin the new age. The lower limit might be discussed, but Ergotimos and Kleitias are surely better thought of as belonging to the beginning of the middle black-figure period than to the end of the early. The latest examples of early black-figure are of course contemporary with early middle black-figure. The ground covered in this article is nearly the same as in Payne's masterly survey.²

In the earlier part of our period Attic vases were not much exported: most of the material comes from Attica, and it has been largely increased by recent excavations at Vari, in the Agora, and in the Ceramicus. I am imperfectly acquainted with the new finds, especially those from Vari. Meanwhile I set down what I have ready.

The Nessos painter is the earliest Attic black-figure artist whose personality, to me at least, is clear. J. M. Cook has put together a few vases and fragments which represent a somewhat earlier stage of Attic black-figure than the Nessos amphora.³ The new finds will certainly throw light not only on this phase, but also on such masterpieces, contemporary or nearly with the Nessos amphora, as the Prometheus krater from Vari, or the krater with the cavalcade, in which one can almost hear the clatter and the jingle.⁴

It had long been evident to me that there was a very close connection between the vases that cluster round the two neck-amphorae from Vourva and Marathon, and Sophilos, and I had often pondered whether "the Marathon painter" (as I called him

My thanks are due to the late Mr. Michael Vlasto for permission to publish two vases in his collection; to Mr. A. Philadelphus, Dr. L. D. Caskey, Prof. F. Mayence, Sir John Forsdyke, Prof. and Mrs. P. N. Ure, for permission to publish vases and fragments in Athens, Boston, Brussels, the British Museum, and the University of Reading; to Miss Lucy Talcott for the photographs reproduced in Plate V, 2; to Dr. Paul Jacobsthal, in Plates II, 1, VI, 5, and VII, 3-4; to Mr. R. D. Barnett, in Plate VI, 6; to my wife, in Plates I, 1, 2, II, 3, 4, III, V, 1, VI, 1-4, and VII, 2. Dr. Jacobsthal has kindly read the manuscript, made valuable suggestions, and helped me in other ways.

In references to the *Corpus Vasorum*, the rubric H III is omitted. Most of the other abbreviations are the same as in *A[ttic] R[ed-figure] V[ase-painters]*.

¹ *BSA*, I, 35, 165-219.

² *NC*, 190-203.

³ *BSA*, 35, 198-200. A fragment in New York, 38, 11, 10, with the head of a lion, should be by the same hand as the Vlasto fragments published by Cook in his plate 59, *a*. The comparison has already been made by Miss Alexander (*Bull. Met. Mus.*, 34, 100).

⁴ The cavalcade, *Soc. Friends Nat. Mus.*, 1934-5, 12, fig. 9*a*.

before I had to yield the name to Miss Haspels who wanted to use it, with better right, for the lekythos-painter who furnished out the grave of those who fell in the battle) should not be Sophilos himself: but I hesitated, and I believe it was not until Mrs. Karouzou set out the evidence in an excellent article⁵ that my scruples disappeared.

Mrs. Karouzou went farther: she holds that the Gorgon painter himself, and the best artist of the Komast group, are but early phases of Sophilos. I recognize the resemblances, but prefer to keep the three painters apart.

I am prompted to inscribe this article, bare and meagre though it be, to the memory of Michael Vlasto as a modest tribute to the gifted and patriotic Greek by whose efforts the finds at Vari were secured to Greece. Many Americans, and many British, when they read the name, will remember with gratitude and affection happy hours spent in that house on Kephisia Street amidst the wonders of Greek art and in the company of a true connoisseur and a gay and generous host.

THE NESSOS PAINTER

AA. 1923-4, 46-9 (Rumpf). *ABS.* 9-11. *BSA.* 35, 200-1 and 205 (J. M. Cook). *Hesp.* 7, 367-71 (Vanderpool). *BCH.* 1938, 443-4 (Karouzou). Wedeking *Arch. Vasenornamentik* 37-9. On the date also Payne *NC.* 344, and *AJA.* 1942, 57 (Rodney S. Young).

NECK-AMPHORA

1. Athens 1002 (CC. 657), from Athens. *AD.* i pl. 57 and p. 46, whence (neck) Pfuhl fig. 85 and *ABS.* pl. 3, 1; CC. pl. 27; part of Gorgon, *BCH.* 1938 pl. 46, *a*; upper part of Nessos, *AM.* 60-1, 272; phot. Alinari 24457, whence Pfuhl fig. 89. The Gorgons. On the neck, Herakles and Nessos. Below, dolphins. On the mouth, geese. On each handle, above, owl, below, swan. B is black.

AMPHORA

2. Athens, Agora, P 1247, from Athens. A (incomplete), *AJA.* 1933, 293, fig. 3; A, *Hesp.* 2, 457; *Hesp.* 7, 368-71. A, sphinx; B, the like.

FRAGMENT, probably of an amphora

3. Leipsic, fr., from Cervetri. *AA.* 1923-4, 46. (Gorgon). [Rumpf].

⁵ *AM.* 62, 111-35. See below.

⁶ I now use the word lekane instead of lekanis, following A. D. Ure (*Metr. St.* 4, 18-20). I distinguish between the lidded and the lidless: "lidless" of course implies that the vase never had a lid, not that the lid happens to be missing.

KRATER (with spout and upright handles)

4. Berlin 1682, fragmentary, from Aegina. *AZ.* 1882 pll. 9-10, whence (part) Perrot 10, 75-9, (part) *CV.* 38; detail *Jdl.* 46, 53 fig. 6; Neugebauer pl. 8, 2; part, *CV.* pll. 46-7. Harpies. Perseus, Athena and Hermes. Below, animals. [Rumpf].

KRATER (chalice)

5. Hamburg 1917, 229, fr. *AA.* 1928, 297; Mercklin *Hamb. Mus. G. R. A.* pl. 6, 2. (Siren). Below, (swan).

LEKANAI⁶

6. Athens, from Vari. I, *BCH.* 1938 pl. 45, *a*, I, gorgoneion. A-B, ? [Karouzou].

7. Athens, from Vari. Detail, *BCH.* 1938, pl. 46, *b*. A-B, animals. [Karouzou].

PLAQUE

8. Athens, North Slope, AP 1085, fr., from Athens. *Hesp.* 7, 225 and pl. 1; *AJA.* 1938, 163 fig. 2. (Man with lyre, and male).

FRAGMENTS

9. Athens Acr. 391, fr., from Athens. Part, Graef pl. 14. (Wing, human waist). On the neck, floral. From a krater? [Rumpf].

THE PAINTER OF THE AEGINA CHIMAERAS

Near the Nessos Painter

AMPHORAE

1. Aegina, fr., from Aegina. A, two chimaeras. On the neck, A, sphinxes.
2. London A 1531, from between Athens and Piraeus. B, *BCH.* 1898, 285; A and side, Jacobsthal, *O.* pl. 7. A, lion; on the neck, birds feeding; B, the like.

Near both the painter of the Aegina Chimaeras (J. M. Cook) and the Nessos painter (Vlasto, Karouzou):

SKYPHOS-KRATER, with stand in one

Athens, from Vari. Part, *Messenger d'Athènes* 20 Febr. 1935, 1-2 (Vlasto); part, *Soc. Friends Nat. Mus.* 1934-5, 10; part, *AJA.* 1937 pl. 8. Lion and panther attacking bull: geese; on the stand, sphinxes; on the lid, eagles attacking fawn; siren.

THE GORGON PAINTER

BPW. 1902, 1264 (Zahn); Payne *NC.* 191-4 and 340; Wedeking *Arch. Vasenornamentik* 39-40. Nos. 3, 5, 15 were placed in a Gorgon-Painter context by Mrs. Karouzou (*AM.* 62, 132), but attributed to Sophilos.

DINOS, with stand separate

1. Louvre E 874.⁷ Pottier pll. 60-2 = (part) Perrot 10 pl. 2 and pp. 117-8; details, Morin-Jean 160 and 201 fig. 232; *CV.* d pll. 15-17, pl. 14, 3, and pl. 18, 1; part, Pfuhl fig. 92; phot. Alinari 23688, whence Bossert *Gesch. des Kunstgewerbes* iv, 174, 2; detail, *AM.* 62 pl. 54, 1; part, *Enc. phot.* ii, 278-9; detail, Plate I, 1 (the fractures repainted, the siren's legs and part of the floral modern). Perseus and the Gorgons. Fight, with chariots waiting. Below, four rows of animals. On the stand, five rows of animals and three floral rows. Restored.

KRATERS, standed

2. Athens Acr. 474, fr., from Athens. Graef

pl. 17, whence (part) *Mon. Piot* 33, 61; detail, *AM.* 62, 121. Frontal chariot. Below, Hermes and animals. On the stand, four rows of animals. [Payne].

3. Athens, fr., from Mounichia. Part, *Πρακτικά* 1935, 179 figs. 11-12; detail, *AM.* 62 pl. 64, 2. Chariot. Below, sirens between panthers. On the stand, (sphinx).

4. Athens Acr. 476, fr., from Athens. Plate I, 2. On the stand (foot of male, hoof of bull; below, lion). [Payne: this is no. 6 in Payne's list of works by the Deianeira painter, *NC.* 191: he quotes the old number 443].

5. Athens Acr. 491, fr., from Athens. *AM.* 62 pl. 64, 1. (Siren or sphinx).

LID (of skyphos-krater)

6. Athens, North Slope, AP 1734, fr., from Athens. Part, *AJA.* 1938, 446 fig. 1; part, *Hesp.* 9, 171. Two rows of animals; above, geese feeding. [Roebuck].

AMPHORA

7. Louvre E 817. A, Pottier pl. 58; A, Pfuhl fig. 93; detail, Morin-Jean 161 fig. 186; *CV.* d pl. 1, 4 and 10; detail, Payne *NC.* 193. A, lions; B, sphinxes; below, animals. [Zahn]. Restored.

TRIPOD KOTHON

8. Athens Acr. 506, fr., from Athens. Part, Graef pl. 19. Animals. [Payne].

OINOCHOAI (olpai)

9. Tübingen. Lion. [R. M. Cook].
10. Paris, Morin-Jean. 3020. Morin-Jean 161 fig. 187. Lion. [Payne].

LEKYTHOS

11. London, Mrs. Leonard Russell (Mrs. Dilys Payne). Richter and Milne fig. 91; Haspels *ABL.* pl. 1, 3. Floral between sirens. [Payne].

PLATES

12. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery. *Hdbk. Walt.* 28; *AM.* 62 pl. 65. Gorgoneion; round, animals, rider; on the rim, animals. [Payne].

⁷ The provenience is said to be Etruria, which may well be so, but Mr. Plaoutine has taught me to distrust Campana proveniences, and I therefore ignore them here as in *ARI*.

13. London B 601.23 and 25, and Oxford G 128, 1 and 8, fr., from Naucratis. Part, *CV*. Oxford pl. 1, 3-4; part, *JHS*. 49, 255 fig. 2, 1-2; part, Payne *NC*. pl. 53, 4. Gorgoneion; round, animals, rider. On the rim, animals. [Payne].

14. Athens Acr. 515, fr., from Athens. Graef pl. 23; *AM*. 62 pl. 66, 1. Whirligig; round, (sphinxes). [Payne].

15. Athens Acr. 514, fr., from Athens. Profile, *AM*. 62, 124. Round, animals; on the rim, animals.

FRAGMENTS

16. Athens Acr. 758, fr., from Athens. Graef pl. 48. (Siren or sphinx). From an amphora?

17. Brussels, fr. Plate I, 3. (Heads of two youths—perhaps standing in a chariot?). Red faces. Reserved inside, I think.

18. Hildesheim 1805, fr. (Rider).

MANNER OF THE GORGON PAINTER

I

THE DEIANEIRA GROUP

Payne *NC*. 191-2; Haspels *ABL*. 1-3. These vases are very close indeed to the Gorgon Painter: Payne holds that nos. 2, 3, 7 are by one hand, nos. 4 and 5 almost certainly by the same, and that the "Deianeira Painter" is almost certainly identical with the Gorgon Painter: on Payne's no. 6 see above, p. 40, no. 4.

LEKYTHOI

1. London 1931. 8-10. 1. Haspels *ABL*. pl. 1, 1. Above floral. Below, lion and fawn, bird. [Haspels].

2. Berlin inv. 3764 (not 3746 as Payne). Payne *NC*. pl. 53, 7; Jacobsthal *Early Celtic Art* pl. 224, b. Man and lions; forepart of man. Above, serpent with a man's head in its jaws. [Payne].

3. London B 30, from Corinth. Walters, *B. M. Cat.* ii pl. 1, above. Herakles and Nessos. Panther. Above, hounds after hare. [Payne].

4. Florence 3740. *Boll. d'Arte* 1921, 159 and 161. Woman between lion and panther. [Payne].

OINOCHOAI

(Olpe with flat mouth)

5. London B 32, from Nola. Panofka *Mus. Blacas* pl. 25; *El.* 3 pl. 77; phot. Mansell. Hermes and sphinxes. [Payne].

(Olpe)

6. Oxford G 550, fr., from Naucratis. *CV*. pl. 1, 30. (Feline).

(Olpe with trefoil mouth)

7. London B 33, from Nola. Payne *NC*. 192; phot. Mansell. Lion. [Payne].

FRAGMENT (of an olpe?)

8. Boston F 353, 3, fr., from Naucratis. Fairbanks pl. 38. Herakles and Triton. [Payne].

IMITATION OF THE DEIANEIRA GROUP

LEKYTHOS

Louvre CA 823, from Boeotia. *RA*. 1899, i, 8 figs. 4-5, whence Perrot 10, 39 and 41, and (part) *AM*. 47, 60; lion, Morin-Jean 126; photos. Giraudon 34138 and 34140, 1. Above, Herakles and Triton. Below, lions and helmet. [Payne]. This vase has been taken for Boeotian, and Payne thought it might be; A. D. and P. N. Ure call it "not certainly Boeotian" (*Classif. Boeotian Pottery* 12, and *AA*. 1933, 20); Miss Haspels calls it Attic (*ABL*. 1-2 note 4), and I am inclined to agree. Payne and the Ures group it with two other vases which are generally regarded as Boeotian:

PANATHENAIC AMPHORISKOI

Bonn inv. 395, from Boeotia ? A, Plate II, 1; B, *AA*. 1933, 19. A, Herakles and Triton. B, lions. On the shoulder, A, floral, B, lions. The part like the Louvre lekythos is the picture on A.

Bonn inv. 597, from Boeotia. A, *AA*. 1933, 20. Lions attacking deer.

Miss Haspels compares the following with the Louvre lekythos CA 823:

LEKYTHOS

Brussels A 1368 (bought at Gizeh). *CV*. e pl. 20, 5. Riders, lion.

II

OINOCHOAI

(Shape 1, with low handle)

1. Florence. Lion and goat.

(Olpe with flat mouth)

2. Athens, from Vari.
- AA*
- . 1937, 118. Lion and bull.

(Olpai, fragments)

3. Oxford G 137, 16, fr., from Naucratis.
- CV*
- . pl. 1, 28. Lion.

4. Athens, fr., from Perachora. Siren.

5. Oxford G 128. 30, fr., from Naucratis.
- CV*
- . pl. 1, 25. Lion.

PANATHENAIK AMPHORISKOS

6. London 64. 10-7. 60. Floral. [Payne]. Berlin inv. 3983 (sphinxes) is connected with this in shape and pattern-work.

LEKANE, lidded

7. Boston F 346, 6. fr., from Naucratis. Fairbanks pl. 37. On the lid, (siren, horse-head).

FRAGMENTS

8. Athens Acr. 759, fr., from Athens. One fr., Graef pl. 48; the other, seen by Miss Pease to belong,
- Hesp.*
- 4, 219, 2. Frontal chariot. From an amphora?

9. London, fr. Plate II, 2. (Eye and muzzle of lion to r., with part of its mane). From an olpe?

10. Marseilles, fr., from Marseilles. Vasseur pl. 10, 12. Lion. [Payne]. From an olpe?

11. London B 103, 20, part, fr., from Naucratis. Lion (part of the head, to l.). From an olpe? This is not the fragment figured by Payne,
- NC*
- . pl. 53, 5, for which see no. 15.

12. Athens Acr., fr., from Athens. Plate II, 3. (Mouth, cheek, mane of lion to r.).

13. Oxford G 137. 17, fr., from Naucratis.
- CV*
- . pl. 1, 27. Lion. From an olpe?

14. Athens, Agora, P 2395, fr., from Athens. Lion. From an olpe?

15. London 88.6-1.588, part, fr., from Naucratis.
- JHS*
- . 49, 255 fig. 2, 4; Payne
- NC*
- . pl. 53, 5. (Lion).

16. Athens Acr. 2707, fr., from Athens. Graef pl. 113. (Floral).

17. Athens, Vlasto, fr., from Vari. (Head of Gorgon). [Vlasto].

18. Boston F 347.6, fr., from Naucratis. Fairbanks pl. 38. (Siren on plant).

The following, in the manner of the Gorgon painter, might be a copy by the KX painter (see p. 45):

KRATER, standed

Athens Acr. 472, fr., from Athens. Graef pl. 18; *AM*. 62 pl. 56. (Animals). On the stand, rows of animals.

Among the early olpai,⁸ many of which show the influence of the Gorgon painter, the following is worth mention as pretty near his manner:

OINOCHOE (olpe, with trefoil mouth)

Oxford 505, from Laurion. *JHS*. 24, 297, 1; *CV*. pl. 13, 1-2. Ram. [Payne].

THE PAINTER OF A. M. 62

Put together by Mrs. Karouzou, but attributed to Sophilos.

LIDLESS LEKANAI

1. Athens, fr., from Vari.
- AM*
- . 62 pl. 43. I, two heads of horses; A-B, animals.

2. Athens, from Vari.
- AM*
- . 62 pl. 44. I, lion; A-B, animals.

⁸ Lists of early olpai are given by Payne (*NC*. 193), and in *JHS*. 49, 254; add Agora, from Athens (*AJA*. 1933, 292 fig. 1: sirens; above, geese feeding); Berlin, Univ., from Rhodes (forepart of boar); Corinth C 32. 235, from Corinth (*AJA*. 1937, 236: bull); Agora, from Athens (*Hesp.* 9, 269: swan); Vienna, Oest. Mus. 123 (Masner pl. 1: swan); Athens, from Perachora (owl-headed sphinx and swan). The vase published by Salzmann (Payne 193) is Louvre A 475. Others are mentioned in the course of this article. New York 26. 164. 28 (panthers) is somewhat later, and so is the Brussels lion-olpe A 1388.

THE CERAMICUS PAINTER

OINOCHOAI

(With long neck and round mouth)

1. Athens, Ceramicus Mus., from Athens. Part, *AA*. 1932, 196. Animals; on the neck, animals.

(Olpai with trefoil mouth)

2. Athens, Ceramicus Mus., from Athens. Three rows of animals. Seated on the handle, plastic, a mourning woman with bleeding forehead (*AA*. 1932, 198).

3. Athens. *JHS*. 59 pl. 13, b. Winged daemon.⁹ Below, animals.

LIDLESS LEKANAI

(With upright handles)

4. Athens, Ceramicus Mus., from Athens. I, siren. A-B, above, geese; below, animals. Seated on each handle, plastic, a mourning woman.

(Ordinary)

5. Athens, Ceramicus Mus., from Athens. I, *AA*. 1932, 195. I, floral. A-B, two rows of animals.

LEKANE (lidless? or lidded?)

6. Los Angeles, Mr. Victor Merlo, fr., from Cumae. *ML*. 22, 475 fig. 178. A, (panther, sphinx). Prof. H. R. W. Smith kindly told me where this fragment was and sent me a photograph.

SKYPHOS (with strap-handles)

7. Athens 907 (CC. 597). A, *JdI*. 18, 132; Plate III; photos. Ath. Inst. NM. 3209-10. Two rows of animals.

FRAGMENTS

8. Athens Acr. 2212, fr., from Athens. Plate II, 4. (Boar, panther). Reserved inside.

9. Cambridge N. 175, fr., from Naucratis. *CV*. ii pl. 20, 14. (Lion).

10. Cambridge N. 176, fr., from Naucratis. *CV*. ii pl. 20, 13. (Feline).

NEAR THE CERAMICUS PAINTER

DINOS

1. London 88.6-1.588, part, fr., from Naucratis. *JHS*. 49 pl. 15, 1. (Panther, boar).

⁹ The thing in the left hand is compared by Martin Robertson (*JHS*. 59, 191) with the knife-case (Kraiker in *Gnomon* 8, 644-5) in sacrificial scenes (dinos by Lydos, Athens Acr. 607, Graef pl. 33; fragments of a skyphos [or band-cup?], Athens, North Slope, *Hesp.* 9, 183; pelike by the Pan Painter, *Pan-Maler* pl. 8; volute-krater, by the painter of Bologna 279, in Ferrara, Aurigemma¹ 215 = "257). The thing in the right hand looks like an adze, and recalls the adze held by Daedalus (Taitle) in Etruscan representations (Hanfmann in *AJA*. 1935, 190 fig. 4c and 192). Add that the Etruscan Taitle, like the figure on the olpe, is *youthful*, and *winged*. According to Martin Robertson our figure is female: otherwise I should have uttered the name of Daedalus.

The adze (*σκέπαρον*) is a carpenter's and wood-worker's implement: an adze hangs beside the hermoglyph in the Copenhagen cup by Epiktetos (*VA*. 17; *CV*. pl. 139, 2), and the herm is perhaps thought of as wooden (*CV*. text p. 109). Knives would also suit a wood-carver.

It may be worth while adding that on a fragment of a long-necked amphora, early sixth century, in Berlin, 1726, the decoration on one side of the neck is a male figure wearing a short chiton and boots, and "running through the air without touching the ground" (Furtwängler): Furtwängler does not mention that the left hand holds an axe like that held by Icarus (Vikare) on the Etruscan bulla in Baltimore (Hanfmann in *AJA*. 1935, 190 fig. 4, b). The upper part of the figure is missing, and there is no saying, I believe, whether there were wings, and what was in the other hand. What remains recalls the earliest known Attic representation of Icarus, on the hydria, by Kleitias, Athens Acr. 601 (Graef pl. 28, whence *JHS*. 47, 223 fig. 2): here also only the legs are preserved.

Does the archaic Etruscan scarab from Orvieto, Tarchi pl. 117, 3, perhaps represent Icarus too?

LEKANAI, lidded

2. Oxford G 128.15, fr., from Naucratis. *CV*. pl. 1, 6. On the lid, rows of animals.
3. Oxford 1912.33, fr., from Naucratis. *CV*. pl. 1, 12. On the lid: above, (floral); below, (lion). Same style as the last.

FRAGMENT

4. Athens Acr. AP 292, fr., from Athens. *Hesp.* 4, 246, 52. (Feline); below, (panthers). Perhaps also

FRAGMENT

- Athens Acr. AP 34, fr., from Athens. *Hesp.* 4, 246, 50. (Siren or sphinx). "From an amphora."

THE ANAGYRUS PAINTER

(Vari = Anagyrus)

NECK-AMPHORA

1. Athens, from Vari. A, *BCH.* 1937 pl. 34, a = *AA.* 1937, 119. Three rows of animals; on the neck, two rows.

CHALICE

2. Athens, Vlasto, from Spata. Plate IV. A, sirens between panthers between sirens, geese; B, cocks quarrelling, and snake; below, geese. The foot is modern. Inside, three large black bands. Topside of the mouth reserved. Dm. 26

PLATE

3. Athens, from Vari. *JHS.* 57 pl. 6, 1; *AA.* 1937, 115; *BCH.* 1937 pl. 33, a. Gorgon.

Cf.

FRAGMENT

- Amsterdam T 2928, fr., from Naucratis. *CV*. Scheurleer c pl. 4, 7. (Hound after hare).

THE PAINTER OF BERLIN 1659

LEKYTHOS

1. Berlin 1659, from Camiros. Brunn-Bruckmann, text to 641, 4 fig. 2; Schaal *Sf.* fig. 15; Neugebauer pl. 8, 1; *AM.* 56 Beil. 44, 1. Three rows of animals.

PYXIS, (concave-sided, with handles)

2. Athens, Ceramicus Mus., from Athens. B, *AA.* 1935, 296 fig. 9; A, *AJA.* 1936, 548 fig. 9. Animals; on the lid, animals. Cf. also

PLATE? (or lid, as Graef)

- Athens Acr. 539, fr., from Athens. Graef 58. (Floral between cocks, lion.)

THE PAINTER OF ELEUSIS 767

A bad painter

NECK-AMPHORA

1. Eleusis 767, from Eleusis. A, *JdI.* 18, 148; A, Kourouniotis *Eleusis* 84 fig. 56 = Engl. tr. 110 fig. 56. A, lions; B, sphinxes; below, sirens; on the neck, A, women, B, the like.

SKYPHOS-KRATER

2. Eleusis 846, fr., from Eleusis. Phot. A. I. 362, 3. (Youths, owl).

KRATER, stood

3. Athens, Agora, P 2034, fr., from Athens. On the stand, (siren or sphinx).

THE PAINTER OF THE DRESDEN LEKANE

Payne *NC.* 201.

LEKANE, lidded

1. Dresden ZV 1464, from Corinth. *AA.* 1925, 106 fig. 6. On the lid, man with sirens, animals; on the body, animals.

NECK-AMPHORA

2. Taranto, from Taranto (contrada Vaccarella). Three rows of animals; on the neck. A, siren, B, the like. [Payne].

SKYPHOS-KRATERS

3. Athens Acr. 496, fr., from Athens. Graef pl. 20. Three rows of animals.
4. Athens Acr. 497, fr., from Athens. (Floral). Below, (siren).
5. Athens Acr. 498, fr., from Athens. (Siren). Below, (floral, siren).

Compare also

FRAGMENT (of a lekane?)

1. Delphi, fr., from Delphi. *FD.* V, 140 fig. 262 bis. (Lion). [Payne].
2. Bonn inv. 1864, fr., *AA.* 1935, 418 fig. 6 (Male, lion).

Closely connected with the Painter of the Dresden Iekane is a group of Boeotian vases, all by one hand. These have been put together by Payne (*NC.* 202-3 and 341) and by A. D. and P. N. Ure (*AA.* 1933, 8-13 nos. 1-5). Payne enumerates 29; the Ures point out that three of these should be withdrawn; they add eight, and H. R. W. Smith four in Berkeley (*CV.* pl. 11, 2-5). Add also alabastra in the Enpedokles collection, Athens (three women in one cloak, and a swan), Cassel (sirens), Cassel (siren and floral), Poitiers (bearded siren), Mannheim (floral), an aryballos in Cassel (T 449: sirens with floral between), and the fragment of a tripod-kothon Athens Acr. 510 (Graef pl. 21).

THE KOMAST GROUP

This important group was assembled by Payne (*NC.* 194-201). Several of the cups and skyphoi had been put together by other writers, and many of them were studied by Greifenhagen (*Eine attische schwarzfigurige Vasengattung*) independently of Payne. See also *JHS.* 47, 258-60; *Sudeta* 6 (1930), 143-54 (Gotsmich); *Metr. Mus. St.* 5, 93. Payne subdivided the group, and recognized different hands: my lists attempt to go farther in the same direction.

KOMAST GROUP: I, THE KX PAINTER

Short for "Komast X." This is the chief painter of the group. Payne assigned nos. 1, 3, 5, 8, 9, 11-15, 17 to the Komast Group, and saw that 1, 3, 5, 8, 9, and 17 were by a single hand. Mrs. Karouzou associated no. 18 with several vases of the same style, but attributed them to Sophilos (see p. 39). Amyx assigned nos. 10, 20, 21 to the Group,¹⁰ and noticed that no. 7 was near it (*AJA.* 1941, 69).

LIDLESS LEKANAI

1. Rhodes 5006, from Ialysos. I and B, *Annuario* 6-7, 295 and 297; B, *CV.* f pl. 2, 4; parts, *AM.* 62 pll. 46-7. I, whirligig. A-B, woman bringing a warrior his armour (Achilles and Thetis?); animals; below, animals.
2. Rhodes 6747, from Ialysos. I, whirligig.

A-B, frontal chariot; animals; below, animals. Very like the last in style, and of equal excellence.

3. London 1905.7-11.4, from Thebes. *JHS.* 31, 2, and 4 fig. 3; *CI.* pl. 7, 5. 1, floral. A-B, Hermes, animals; below, lions.

LEKANE, lidless or lidded

4. Oxford G 137. 10, fr., from Naucratis. *CV.* pl. 1, 10. (Feline, deer).

LEKANAI, lidded

5. Athens 296 (CC. 608), from Vourva. A, *Jdl.* 18, 131; A, *AM.* 62 pl. 45; B, Plate V, 1. Two rows of animals.
6. Oxford G 128.7, fr., from Naucratis. *CV.* pl. 1, 1. On the lid, (lion, owl).
7. Samos, fr., from Samos. *AM.* 54 Beil. 21, 2. On the lid, above, (siren), below, (lion, boar).

TRIPOD-KOTHONS

8. Louvre CA 927, from Aegina? Details, Payne *NC.* pl. 51, 3 and p. 195, b. Animals; on the top side, animals, man (boxer?).
9. Athens Acr. 504, frr., from Athens. Graef pl. 20; detail, Payne *NC.* 195, c. Animals.

KRATER, standed

10. Athens 16183, fr. *Jdl.* 18, 137. On the stand, two rows of animals.

SKYPHOI

11. Boston F. 561, from Greece. Fairbanks pl. 69; Payne *NC.* pl. 52, 2-3; B, *AM.* 62 pl. 59, 1. A, lions. B, floral.
12. London B 13, from Corinth. A, sirens; B, panthers; at each handle, swan.
13. Athens 640 (CC. 631). A, CC. pl. 26; A, Greifenhagen pl. 3, 2; *AM.* 62 pl. 57, 2 and pl. 58. Komos (A, man with lyre, youth and men with drinking-vessels, man; B, youths and men with drinking-vessels).
14. Athens 528 (CC. 634), from Corinth. Plate V, 2. Komos (A, two men dancing; B, the like).

¹⁰ Dr. Amyx attributes them to "Payne's Komast Painter": he means, I believe, the chief artist in the Komast Group; Payne spoke not of a Painter but of a Group, and detected several hands.

15. Athens 940 (CC. 633). Greifenhagen pl. 4. Komos (A, youth and man dancing; B, man fluting and youth). Somewhat freer than usual, but I think by the KX painter himself, perhaps a late work.

CUPS

(with echinus lip)

16. London 1914. 3-17. 10, fr., from Naucratis. *JHS.* 49 pl. 15, 8. A, (feline).

(komast cup)

17. New York 22. 139. 22, from Taranto. Greifenhagen pl. 1; A, Payne *NC.* pl. 51, 6; B, Richter and Milne fig. 152. A-B, komos (A, three men dancing; B, the like).

(large: offset lip: type uncertain—Siana cup?)

18. Samos, fr., from Samos. Part, *AM.* 54 pl. 4; another fr., *AM.* 62 pl. 57, 1. A-B, symposium; below, (floral between sirens); on the lip, floral; on the lip, inside, tongues.

KANTHAROS

19. Cambridge N. 131-71 and (joining) London B 601. 14, fr., from Naucratis. The Cambridge fr., *CV.* ii pl. 21, 40; the London, *JHS.* 49 pl. 15, 17. Chariot of Achilles. On the subject see Johansen *Iliaden* 69.

FRAGMENTS

20. Delphi, fr., from Delphi. *FD.* v, 155 figs. 643-4. On one fr., above, (lion), below, (deer, lion); on the other, (siren, panther). From a lekane, lidless or lidded?

21. Boston F 347, 5, fr., from Naucratis. Fairbanks pl. 38. (Panther and goat). From a lekane, lidless or lidded?

22. Athens Acr., fr., from Athens. Plate VI, 1. (Fawn, lion). Inside, black with two red lines.

23. Athens Acr. 609, fr., from Athens. Plate VI, 2. On one fr., komos (males dancing); below, floral. On the other, (floral); below, (feline, deer). Thick. Inside fairly lustrous brown. From a dinos or the like?

KOMAST GROUP: MANNER OF THE
KX PAINTER

Nos. 1-3 were assigned to the Komast Group by Payne. He also saw that no. 3 was in the same style as no. 2.

SKYPHOS

1. Cambridge X. 5. Pickard-Cambridge *Dithyramb, Tragedy, and Comedy*, frontisp.; *CV.* pl. 2, 8 and pl. 5, 20. Komos (A, man and youth dancing; B, the like).

CUPS

(komast cups)

2. Syracuse 26397, from Gela. A, *ML.* 19, 95 fig. 4; *Dioniso* 5, 64. A-B, komos (A, two men dancing; B, the like).

3. Copenhagen 103, from Greece. *CV.* pl. 113, 1. A-B, komos (A, two men dancing; B, the like). Same style as the last.

(Siana cups)

4. Marseilles, fr., from Marseilles. Vasseur pl. 12, 17. A, komos.

5. London B 601. 41, plus fr., from Naucratis. *JHS.* 49 pl. 16, 10-1 and pl. 17, 23. A (Hera-kles). B, komos. On the lip, floral.

6. Taranto, fr. A, komos.

KANTHAROS

7. London B 601. 16 and 44, fr., from Naucratis. *JHS.* 49 pl. 15, 4-5, 18, and 22. (Hermes, males).

The following seems connected, though later:
OINOCHOE (olpe)

Athens, from Vari. *AA.* 1937, 120. Hermes and sphinxes.

BOEOTIAN IMITATORS OF THE KX PAINTER

P. N. and A. D. Ure *Classif. Boeotian Pottery* 14-16; Payne *NC.* 199.

These vases seem to depend on the KX Painter rather than on his Corinthian originals.

I

TRIPOD-KOTHON

Munich, from Athens. A, *AA.* 1912, 134, 10; A, Buschor *GV.* 122.

II

THE GROUP OF THE BOEOTIAN DANCERS
(B. D. GROUP)

Tripod-Pyxides

(Type 1)

1. Berlin 1727, from Tanagra. *AZ.* 1881 pll. 3-4, whence (part) Perrot 10, 47 fig. 38, and 48-50; Genick pl. 24; Schaal *Sf.* figs. 29-30; Neugebauer pl. 9, 1.

2. Boston F. 559. Fairbanks pl. 67.

(Type 2)

3. Athens 12037 (N. 872). Nicole pl. 5. Late.

4. Athens 938 (CC. 616), from Tanagra. C, CC. pl. 25, whence *JHS.* 31, 77 fig. 7. Late.

Kantharoi

(ordinary)

5. Munich 419. Sieveking and Hackl 40; A, Buschor *GV.* 123; B, Pfuhl fig. 171; B, Schaal *Sf.* fig. 31.

6. Athens 623 (CC. 630). A, *AM.* 47 pl. 12, 2.

7. Thebes, from Rhitsona, 50. 265. *BSA.* 14, *a* and *f-g*.

8. Carlsruhe inv. 3149. A, Welter pl. 3 fig. 7. Later.

9. Heidelberg. Later.

10. Bonn inv. 334, from Boeotia. *AA.* 1933, 18 figs. 13-4. Later. Restored.

(Tumbler-Kantharos)¹¹

11. Athens 624 (CC. 601). A, CC. pl. 24; A, Zervos fig. 96.

Covered Cup with Spout

12. Athens 12679.

Fragment (of a cup?)

13. Berne 23706, fr. (Man).

III

Payne *NC.* 199.

Boar-Rhyton

Berlin inv. 3391, from Boeotia. Maximova pl. 47, 173.

KOMAST GROUP: II, THE KY PAINTER

Short for Komast Y.

Payne assigned nos. 1, 2, 5-9, 11-14, to the

Komast *Group*: he saw that nos. 5-13 were by a single hand, and that no. 2 was by the same hand as no. 1.

COLUMN-KRATERS

1. London 1928. 1-17. 39. Details, Payne *NC.* 195, *d.* A, siren between swans; B, swans; at each handle, owl; below, panthers and goats; on each handle-plate, floral.

2. Rome, Conservatori, 212. A, photos. R. I. 1929. 246-7. A, komos (youths dancing). B, riders. At each handle, floral. Below, panthers and goats. Restored.

OINOCHOE (shape 1)

3. Boston F. 349, fr., from Naucratis. Fairbanks pl. 38. Two rows of animals.

FRAGMENT OF A POT

4. Hildesheim 2199, fr. (Swan, feline). Below, (panther and goat).

SKYPHOS

5. Athens 1109 (CC. 632). A, Greifenhagen pl. 3, 1; A, Payne *NC.* pl. 51, 7. Komos (A, two youths dancing; B, the like).

CUPS (komast cups)

6. Louvre E 742. A, Payne *NC.* pl. 52, 1; phot. Gir. 28222. A-B, komos (A, three youths dancing; B, the like).

7. Athens 1106 (CC. 636). A and part of B, Payne *NC.* pl. 51, 1 and p. 197 fig. 89, *a.* A-B, komos (A, youths and man dancing; B, the like).

8. London 1920. 2-16. 1. Pickard-Cambridge *Dith.* figs. 34-5. A-B, komos (A, two youths dancing; B, the like).

9. Vienna, Oest. Mus., 107, from Athens. A, Masner pl. 5; handle-palmette, Riegl *Stilfragen* 200. A-B, komos (A, two youths dancing; B, the like).

10. London B 103. 28, fr., from Naucratis. *JHS.* 49 pl. 15, 7. A, komos.

11. Motya, fr., from Motya. Payne *NC.* pl. 51, 4. A, komos (youth dancing).

¹¹ The shape is represented on the skyphoi by the KX Painter Athens 640 (p. 45, no. 13) and Athens 940 (p. 46, no. 15); also on the Corinthian oinochoe C 34. 362 (*Hesp.* 11, 152).

12. Palermo, from Chiusi. Inghirami *Mus. Chius.* pl. 121. A-B, komos (A, man and two youths dancing; B, the like).
13. Yale 102. Baur 82 and pl. 3, below. A-B, komos (A, three youths dancing; B, the like).
15. Athens, fr., from Perachora. A-B, komos (youths dancing).
16. Athens Acr. 1444, fr., from Athens. Plate VI, 3. (Handle-floral).
17. Athens Acr. 1445, fr., from Athens. Plate VI, 4. (Handle-floral).
14. Syracuse, from Megara Hyblaea. A, *ML.* 19, 95 fig. 5; *Dioniso* 5, 65. A-B, komos (A, two youths dancing; B, the like).
18. Athens Acr. 1420, fr., from Athens. Graef pl. 79. A, komos (youth dancing).
19. Munich, two fragments, from Athens (Acropolis). A-B, komos (on one fragment, upper part of youth dancing to l.; on the other, shoulder of male and back of his hair).
20. Athens, Ceramicus Mus., fr., from Athens. A, komos (head and breast of youth to l.).
21. Istanbul, fr., from Lindos. Blinkenberg *Lindos* pl. 125, 2617. A, komos (male dancing).
22. Istanbul, fr., from Lindos. Blinkenberg *Lindos* pl. 131, 2795. Komos (lower part of two males dancing).

KOMAST GROUP: MANNER OF THE KY PAINTER

Nos. 1 and 3 were assigned to the Komast Group by Payne, and no. 4 seen to be connected with the group.

TRIPOD-KOTHON

1. Athens 12688. B, *AM.* 47 pl. 12, 1; A, Zervos fig. 135; A-C, phot. Ath. Inst. NM. 1204-6; part of top-side, Payne *NC.* 195, a. A, riders. B, lion attacking bull. C, floral. On the topside, komos (youths dancing). On the bowl, between each pair of legs, floral. On the bottom, whirligig.

COLUMN-KRATERS

2. London 88. 6-1, 599 and Oxford G 128, 18, fr., from Naucratis. The London part, *JHS.* 49 pl. 15, 6, 2 and 1; and Payne *NC.* 195, f;

the Oxford part, *CV.* pl. 2, 3. A, (horses—chariot?—, hoplite, archer). B, komos (man and males dancing).

3. Cairo 26. 172, fr. Edgar pl. 7. Komos (man dancing).

NECK-AMPHORA (ovoid)

4. Berlin 1700. Bossert *Orn.* pl. 7, 8. A, komos (men dancing). B, sphinx.

KOMAST GROUP: III, THE FALMOUTH PAINTER

Closely connected with the KY Painter, but later. Nos. 1-4 and 6 were assigned to the Komast Group by Payne, and seen to be by a single hand; no. 9 was assigned to the Komast Group by Roebuck and compared with no. 6.

CUPS (komast cups)

1. Taranto, from Taranto. A-B, komos (each, three revellers—men and youths—dancing). Net pattern on the lip. Especially near the KY Painter.
2. Taranto, from Taranto. A-B, komos (each, three revellers—men and youths—dancing). Net pattern on the lip.
3. Athens 649 (CC. 635). Greifenhagen pl. 2. A-B, komos (A, men and youth dancing; B, the like).
4. London B 600. 6, fr., from Naucratis. *JHS.* 49 pl. 15, 12; Payne *NC.* pl. 51, 5. A, komos (youth and males dancing).
5. Falmouth, fr. Plate VI, 6. A, komos (youth and male dancing). I owe my knowledge of this fragment to Mr. R. D. Barnett.
6. Munich 2120. A and palmettes, Payne *NC.* pl. 51, 2 and p. 195, c. A-B, komos (men dancing). According to Payne this cup is from Sicily, but if it is the same as Greifenhagen's no. 13 it would seem to be Jahn 629, ex Candoloni and therefore from Vulci.
7. Paris market (Mikas, in 1928). A, Plate VI, 5. A, komos (two men and a youth dancing). As Munich 2120.
8. Bonn inv. 727. *Sudeta* 6 (1930) fig. 2. A-B, komos (each, two youths dancing).
9. Athens, North Slope, AP 1521, fr., from Athens. *Hesp.* 9, 190, 103. A, komos (man dancing).

KOMAST GROUP: IV, the PALAZZOLO PAINTER
Late in the group. Nos. 1 and 2 were assigned to the Komast Group by Payne, and no. 3 mentioned as a late derivative of the fabric.

CUPS

(Komast Cups)

1. Palazzolo, from Palazzolo (Akrai). Bendorff pl. 43, 1, whence Pickard-Cambridge *Dith.* 267. A-B, komos (A, man and woman dancing; B, the like).

2. Harvard. A, *CV*. Hoppin pl. 1, 11. A-B, komos (A, man and woman dancing; B, two men dancing).

(Siana Cup, with Overlap Decoration)

3. Göttingen J. 11. I and A, Jacobsthal *Gött. V.* pl. 4, 1, floral. A-B, komos (A, men, youth, and women dancing; B, youths and women dancing).

4. London B 103, 2, fr., from Naucratis. *JHS.* 49 pl. 16, 2. A, komos (youth and woman dancing).

KOMAST GROUP: V. UNALLOTTED

These belong to one or other of the above groups, but I cannot tell to which, either because not enough remains, or because my notes are too scanty. No. 7 was assigned to the Komast Group by Payne, and no. 3 associated with no. 5 by Gotsmich.

CUPS (Komast Cups)

1. Louvre. A-B, komos. Rosettes on the lip.
2. Oxford G 137, 18, fr., from Naucratis. *CV*. pl. 2, 4. A, komos (male dancing).

3. Prague, German University, inv. 280, from Greece. *Sudeta* 6 (1930) fig. 1. Komos (each, youth and woman dancing).

4. Munich, Dr. Hans von Schoen. A-B, komos. I have little note of this and do not know whether it might be the same as the Mikas cup by the Falmouth Painter, no. 7 (Plate VI, 5).

5. Vienna 226, from Poteidaia. A-B, komos.

6. Louvre E 741. A-B, komos. KY Painter? Falmouth Painter?

7. Market. A, tiny phot. Berlin Mus. 674, 5: A, komos. Falmouth Painter?

8. Athens, fr., from Perachora. (Lip-net). Falmouth Painter?

SKYPHIOS

9. London, fr. (Lower part of handle-floral).

I have not seen the following. The first was assigned to the Komast Group by Payne, the second by Greifenhagen, the third by Jacobsthal, the rest by R. M. Cook, who reports that two of the fragments are early.

CUPS (Komast Cups)

1. Kephisia, Mr. A. Romanos. A-B, komos (each, two dancers).

2. Heidelberg, from Rhodes. A-B, komos (each, two dancers).

3. Béziers, Mus. de la Ville. A, komos (three dancers).

4-6. Istria, from Istria. Six fragments belonging to three komast cups.

CONNECTED WITH THE KOMAST GROUP

Nos. 5 and 7 were connected with the Group by Payne.

SKYPHOI

1. Eleusis, from Eleusis. Phot. Ath. Inst. 347, 3. Komos (middle of male dancing to 1.). Probably from a skyphos rather than a cup.

2. Leipsic, four frr. Komos (hand of woman, hand of male; pieces of floral decoration).

3. London, fr., from Naucratis. *JHS.* 49, pl. 15, 16. Komos. An unpublished fragment gives face and hand of a second male and back-hair with shoulder of a third.

FRAGMENT, Perhaps of a Kantharos

4. London B 601.46, fr., from Naucratis. *JHS.* 49 pl. 15, 15. Komos (man and woman dancing).

COLUMN-KRATERS

5. Oxford G 131. 31, fr., from Naucratis. *CV*. pl. 2, 1. Komos (males and women dancing). Payne's number is wrong (*NC.* 197 no. 37, "G 137. 18").

6. Oxford G 131. 32, fr., from Naucratis. *CV*. pl. 2, 2. Komos (naked woman dancing).

7. Athens 441 (CC. 655), from Kaja. A, CC. pl. 27; A, Zervos fig. 97. A, komos (youths

and women dancing). B, fight. At each handle, youthful head. Below, animals. On each handle-plate, floral.

A special place is taken by a vase which Payne assigned to the Komast Group:

SKYPHOS

Copenhagen 11, from Greece. A, *CV*. pl. 91, 7. Komos (A, males dancing and woman; B, males dancing). Barbarous style, the figures barely human. I have no notes of this. If Attic?

The following is a late imitation of a komast cup, but the style is not very like the Komast Group. Boeotian? cf. a Boeotian kantharos of "Sotadean" type in Berlin (A, Triton; B, fish):

CUP

Munich 426. A-B, komos.

SOPHILOS

Payne *NC*. 62, 74, 105-6, 200, and 346; *AM*. 62, 111-35 (Karouzou, see p. 39).

NECK-AMPHORAE

(Long-Necked)

1. Athens 991 (CC. 593), from Vourva. *AM*. 15 pl. 11, whence (B) Perrot 10, 69; B, CC. pl. 24; phot. Ath. Inst. NM. 3181-3, whence (A) *AM*. 62 pl. 60. Three rows of animals; on the neck, two rows. [Karouzou].

2. Athens 1036 (CC. 592), from Marathon. *AM*. 18 pl. 2, whence (A) Pfuhl fig. 90; *CV*. pl. 13, 1-2; photos. Ath. Inst. NM. 3273-4, whence (part) *AM*. 62 pll. 61-2. Three rows of animals, and, below, geese feeding. In the top row, man and youth; in the second, winged Artemis. On the neck, two rows of animals (in the lower, Hermes). On the mouth, geese feeding. [Karouzou].

3. Florence. A, Hermes and sirens; below, animals; on the neck, A, lions; on the topside of the mouth, geese feeding. The lower half of the vase is missing.

(Ovoid)

4. Oxford G 128. 20, fr., from Naucratis. *CV*. pl. 1, 37. On the neck, male (Hermes?) between sphinxes.

AMPHORAE

5. Louvre E 819. B, Pottier pl. 58; detail, Morin-Jean 162 fig. 188; *CV*. d pl. 1, 6 and 12. A, sirens with little sphinx; B, sphinxes. Much restored. The foot of the vase is alien.

6. Berlin 1683, from Athens. A, sphinxes; B, eagles with serpent.

7. Jena, from Veii. A, lions; B, sirens. The side of the mouth, as in the last two vases, is red.

8. Athens, Agora, P 12496, fr., from Athens. *Hesp*. 8, 260, 17. (Mounted man).

FRAGMENTS, probably from an Amphora

9. Athens Acr. 757, frr., from Athens. Part, Graef pl. 48. A, man (Hermes? between sirens); B, man between sphinxes or lions.

CHALICE

10. Athens 995 (CC. 600), from Vourva. Side-view, *AM*. 15 pl. 12, 1; A, *Metr. St.* 5, 123; A, *AM*. 62 pl. 59, 2. A, animals and a male; B, animals; below, animals. [Karouzou].

DINOI

11. Louvre E 873. *CV*. d pl. 14, 1-2 and 4-5; details, Morin-Jean 162 fig. 189 and 202 fig. 234; detail, *AM*. 62 pl. 54, 2. Frontal chariot; animals; below, two rows of animals. Restored. [Karouzou].

12. London B 100 and B 601. 26, from Naucratis. Part, *Naucratis* ii pl. 9, 6; *JHS*. 49, 257 and pl. 17, 8. Animals; below, Hermes and animals; below, animals. [Karouzou]. See no. 30.

13. Cambridge N. 128, fr., from Naucratis. *CV*. ii pl. 21, 33. (Frontal chariot). [Karouzou].

14. Athens Acr. 587, frr., from Athens. Part, *AM*. 14 pl. 1; part, Benndorf pl. 11, 5; *HT*. 1889 pl. 2, 3; one fr., and the curve, *Eranos Vind.* 236 and 239; Graef pl. 26, whence *Mon. Piot* 33, 55 and (inverted) Hoppin *Bf.* 337; part, *AM*. 62 pl. 51. Wedding of Peleus. Below, animals. >OΦΙΛΟ> >ΛΡΑΦ> >N retr. On the subject see Studniczka in *Eranos Vind.* 233-40.

15. Istanbul, fr., from Lindos. Blinkenberg, *Lindiaka* 3, 32; Blinkenberg *Lindos* pl. 127, 2629. (Satyr and maenad). [Blinkenberg].

16. Athens 15499, frr., from Pharsalos. Part,

BCH. 1931 pl. 19; *Mon. Piot* 33, 44-7 and 49 and pl. 6, whence (part) Johansen *Iliaden* fig. 9 and Scheurleer *Gr. Cer.* fig. 47; part, *AM.* 62 pl. 52-3. Games at the funeral of Patroklos. Below, three rows of animals. On the topside of the lip, animals. $\Sigma\text{O}\Phi\text{I}\Lambda\text{O}\Sigma : \text{M}\epsilon\Lambda\text{P}\Lambda\Phi\Sigma\text{E}\text{N}$ retr. $\Sigma\text{O}\Phi\text{I}\Lambda\text{O}\Sigma$ ---] retr. The second inscription may be part of an ἐποίησεν signature.

DINOID VESSELS, Lipless

17. Athens Acr. 585 *a*, fr., from Athens. Graef pl. 63, *a*. Unexplained subject (Hermes, Pandrosos and sister, god or king).

18. Athens Acr. 585 *b*, fr., from Athens. Graef pl. 63, *b*. Uncertain subject (deities in chariots—horse, Poseidon and Amphitrite). Same shape and style as the last, but not, I thought, from the same vase.

KRATER, Standed, of Menidi Type (resembling a nuptial lebes)

19. Athens 2035, 2, fr., from Menidi. *JdI.* 13 pl. 1, 1 and 4 and pp. 24-6, whence (part) Hoppin *Bf.* 335, 2 and 4; part, *CV.* f pl. 1, 2; one fr., *Mon. Piot* 33, 59 fig. 12, 3. Herakles and the Centaurs. Below, animals. On the stand, animals. The fr. *JdI.* 13, pl. 1, 2 (whence Hoppin *Bf.* 335, 3; *Mon. Piot* 33, 59 fig. 12, 1) is in the same style and probably belongs. Payne pointed out (in *ABS.* 14) that these fragments did not come from the same vase as the fragment *JdI.* 13 pl. 1, 3 (our no. 20): but I believe them to be by the same hand.

KRATER (of Menidi Type)

20. Athens 2035, 1, fr., from Menidi. *JdI.* 13 pl. 1, 3 and p. 17, whence Hoppin *Bf.* 335, 1; *CV.* f pl. 1, 1; *Mon. Piot* 33, 59 fig. 12, 2. Unexplained subject (chariot, preceded by a snake, woman). Below, animals. $[\Sigma\text{O}\Phi]\text{I}\Lambda\text{O}\Sigma : \text{M}\epsilon\text{P}\text{O}\Sigma\text{E}\Sigma\text{E}\text{N}$ retr.

COLUMN-KRATER

21. Athens 12587 (N. 911). A, *AM.* 47 pl. 5; *AM.* 62 pl. 50, 2, pl. 55, and p. 114. A, Herakles and Triton. B, lions between sphinxes. On each handle-plate, sphinx. [Karouzou].

TRIPOD-KOTHON

22. Boston F. 560. Fairbanks pl. 68; C, *AM.* 62 pl. 63; A, Plate VII, 1. A, lions; B, sirens;

C, sphinxes; on the top-side, animals; on the lid, animals. [Karouzou].

LIDLESS LEKANAI

23. Athens 998 (CC. 605), from Vourva. *AM.* 15, 326. Animals. [Karouzou].

24. Athens 997 (CC. 603), from Vourva. *JdI.* 18, 125. Animals. [Karouzou].

25. Athens 999 (CC. 602), from Vourva. *JdI.* 18, 124. Animals. [Karouzou].

PLAQUES

26. Athens, Vlasto, fr., from Kalyvia. *AM.* 62 pl. 48. Mourning women. [Vlasto].

27. Athens, Vlasto, fr. from Kalyvia *AM.* 62 pl. 50, 1. Mourning men. [Vlasto].

28. Athens, Vlasto, fr., from Kalyvia. *AM.* 62 pl. 49. Mourning women. [Vlasto].

FRAGMENTS

29. Hildesheim 2096, fr. (Siren, lion). Cf. the Louvre dinos.

30. Reading, fr., from Egypt. Plate VI, 7. (Piece of floral). Black inside. It would be worth looking whether this might belong to the London dinos, no. 12.

NEAR SOPHILOS

KRATER, Standed

1. Athens Acr. 485, fr., from Athens. A new fr., identified by Miss Pease, *Hesp.* 4, 227, 11. On the stand, (lions, snake).

HYDRIA

2. Paris market (Geladakis), from Greece. *Coll. M. G.* (19-20 mai 1904) pl. 4, 91, whence Plate VIII, 1. Man with sceptre between lions, and other animals; below, animals (panther and goat appear in the reproduction). On the shoulder, floral between sphinxes. Ht. 35 cm. Two fragments of this vase, which must have come unstuck since the sale in 1904, have found their way to Marburg: one (1045) gives the head of the lion to left of the man, with part of a rosette, part of the border above, and the lower edge of one of the volutes of the shoulder-floral (Plate VII, 3); the other (1046) gives part of the other lion, the fore-paw of the

shoulder-sphinx, and the rosette in front of it (Plate VII, 4).

FRAGMENTS

3. Athens Acr., fr., from Athens. (Siren, male, both to r.).

4. Athens Acr., fr., from Athens. (Legs of bull and of feline; below, wing).

The following have the same red-outline technique as the signed Sophilos vases, and bear some resemblance in drawing to Sophilos:

FRAGMENT

1. Athens Acr. 586, fr., from Athens. Plate VII, 2. Fight.

The name of the woman on the r. begins with Θ, which makes one think of Θ[ΕΟΣ]. Her warrior's name begins with Μ, and the second letter might be Ε, but I am not sure that the third could be Μ.

KRATER, Standed

2. Athens Acr. 584, fr., from Athens. Graef pl. 23. Above, (lions and floral); below, (man between sphinxes or sirens).

THE POLOS PAINTER

Thiersch *Tyrrh. Amph.* 146-7; Fölzer *Die Hydria* 50-1; Payne *NC.* 190-1.

Payne speaks of a Group, I speak of a Painter, for I believe that all the vases in this list are by one hand. I do not give the subjects: sirens, sphinxes, often women, sometimes lions: all wretchedly drawn.

AMPHORAE

1. London B 18, from Cervetri. *Mém. Ac. Inscr.* 17 pl. 18; Conze *Mel. Thongef.* pl. 5, 4. [Thiersch].

2. Stuttgart V. 84.

3. Mykonos, from Rheneia (originally from Delos). Two rows of sirens.

4. Mykonos, from Rheneia (originally from Delos). Several rows of animals.

NECK-AMPHORAE

5. Brussels R. 219, from Corinth. *CV.* d pl. 1, 3. [Payne].

6. Mykonos, from Rheneia (originally from Delos).

7. Athens, Agora, from Athens.

8. Louvre E 814. *BCH.* 1893, 435; *CV.* d pl. 1, 1 and 7. [Payne].

9. Athens Acr. (old no. 53 with a digit after it?). (Foot and lower part of the vase).

10. Athens Acr. (old no. 527?), fr., from Athens. (Part of neck and shoulder, with up-right ring-like handles).

SKYPHOS-KRATER (Lidded, with Strap Handles)

11. London B 14, from Athens. This is probably the vase of which there is a drawing in the Rom. Inst., IX, 122. [Payne].

COLUMN-KRATER

12. Florence 3758. [Payne].

HYDRIAI

13. Eleusis, from Eleusis. Fölzer pl. 7, 117; *AM.* 56 Beil. 46, 1. [Payne].

14. Athens. Sphinxes, sirens; below, lions, sirens, sphinxes. On the neck, sphinxes (or sirens?).

15. Mykonos, from Rheneia (originally from Delos).

16. Mykonos, from Rheneia (originally from Delos).

17. Mykonos, from Rheneia (originally from Delos).

18. Delos 589, from Delos. Dugas *Délos* X pl. 44. [Dugas].

19. Berlin 1656. Fölzer pl. 4, 50; Pfuhl fig. 91. [Thiersch].

20. Boston F 493. Fölzer pl. 4, 49; Fairbanks 1 pl. 48. [Fölzer].

21. Leyden inv. I. 1913, 1-1. Brants pl. 19, 5.

22. Naples, from Locri.

23. Athens Acr., fr., from Athens. (Legs of animal to l.); below, (sirens).

TRIPOD-KOTHONS

24. Amsterdam inv. 1942. *CV.* Scheurleer G pl. 2, 4. [Payne].

25. Munich inv. 2289. *Kat. Helbing* 1-2 Mai

1899 pl. 2, 22? (I cannot verify the reference).
[Thiersch].

26. Heidelberg. [Thiersch].

PYXIS (with concave sides)

27. Athens 316 (CC. 565), from Athens.
[Thiersch].

LIDLESS LEKANAI

28. Berlin 1660, from Camiros. [Fölzer].

29. Jena. [Ure].

30. Leipsic T 3304. [Ure].

31. Erlangen.

32. Amsterdam inv. 3381. *CV.* Scheurleer d
pl. 4, 8.

33. Copenhagen inv. 7361. *CV.* pl. 100, 5.

34. Jena. [Ure].

35. Jena. [Ure].

36. Louvre (ex Guimet).

37. Mykonos, from Rheneia (originally from
Delos).

38. Eleusis, from Eleusis.

39. Amsterdam, fr.

40. Athens 978 (CC. 610). [Thiersch].

41. Athens 979 (CC. 611). [Thiersch].

42. Athens, Agora, P 270, fr., from Athens.

43. Athens, Agora, fr., from Athens.

44. Athens, Agora, P 2032, fr., from Athens.

45. Athens, Agora, P 2033, fr., from Athens.

46. Athens Acr., fr., from Athens. (Female
hand to r.).

47. Athens Acr., fr., from Athens. (Siren,
sphinx).

48. Athens Acr., fr., from Athens. (Animals).

49. Athens Acr., fr., from Athens. (Bird or
the like).

50. Athens Acr. 530, fr., from Athens.

51. Athens Acr. fr., from Athens. (Animal—
sphinx?).

52. Athens, North Slope, AP 1198, fr., from
Athens. *Hesp.* 9, 168, 39. [Roebuck].

53. Athens, North Slope, AP 1852 and 2135,
fr., from Athens. *Hesp.* 9, 168, 40. [Roebuck].

54. Athens, North Slope, AP 1199, fr., from
Athens. *Hesp.* 9, 168, 43.

55. Eleusis 923, fr., from Eleusis. I, siren.

56. Oxford G 551, fr., from Naucratis. *CV.*
pl. 1, 18; Payne *NC.* 191.

57. Oxford G 553, fr., from Naucratis. *CV.*
pl. 1, 22.

58. Cambridge, fr., from Naucratis.

59. London B 103.26, fr. from Naucratis.
(Two women between sirens).

60. London 1914. 3—17.9, fr. (Two women).

61. London 86. 4—11.38, fr. (Floral).

62. Marburg A 1040, fr. (Sphinxes).

63. Marburg A 1041, fr. (Sirens).

LEKYTHOI

64. Delos 545, from Delos. Dugas *Délos* X
pl. 38. [Dugas].

65. Brussels A 1387. *CV.* d pl. 1, 1. [Payne].

SKYPHOI

66. Athens 300 (CC. 539). [Thiersch].

67. Brussels A 54. *CV.* d pl. 1, 4. [Payne].

68. Athens 299 (CC. 598). [Thiersch].

69. Athens Acr., fr., from Athens. (Sphinx,
woman).

70. Göttingen. Two rows of animals.

71. Tübingen D 48.

72. Erlangen. Sirens.

73. Athens Acr., fr., from Athens. A, Sphinx;
B, (tail of siren).

74. Athens Acr., fr., from Athens. Sirens.

75. Eleusis, fr., from Megara.

SMALL DISH

76. Madrid 10803 (L. 37), from Athens. *CV.*
C pl. 2, 11.

PLATES

77. Eleusis, from Eleusis. *Jdl.* 18, 145.
[Thiersch].

78. Mykonos, from Rheneia (originally from Delos). Floral; round, sirens; on rim, sirens.
 79. Rhodes 5011, from Ialysos. *Annuario* 6-7, 291. [Payne].
 80. Athens, Mr. G. Empedokles. Sphinx; round, sphinxes.
 81. Oxford G 128. 12, fr., from Naucratis. *CV*. pl. 1, 21.
 82. Munich, Dr. von Schoen.
 83. Athens Acr. 525, fr., from Athens.
 84. Athens Acr. 524, fr., from Athens.
 85. Athens Acr. 522, fr., from Athens.
 86. Athens Acr. 523, fr., from Athens. [Payne].
 87. Athens, fr., from Athens (Royal Stables). (Women, sphinx).
 88. Athens, fr., from the Argive Heraion. *Arg. Her.* ii pl. 61, 22. [Payne].
 89. Oxford G 552, fr., from Naucratis. *CV*. pl. 1, 20.
 90. Oxford G 554, fr., from Naucratis. *CV*. pl. 1, 23.
 91. Karlsruhe 91, from Corinth. [Payne].
 92. Athens, Mr. G. Empedokles. Sphinx.

IDOLS

93. Bonn. [Ure].
 94-98. Athens Acr. (old 542), fr., from Athens. Also frr. of four others. [Thiersch].

FRAGMENTS

99. London, Univ., N 16, from Naucratis. (Sphinx). From a lidless lekane?
 100. Athens Acr., fr., from Athens. I, siren; A, animals. From a lidless lekane?
 101. Oxford G 128. 39, fr., from Naucratis. *CV*. pl. 1, 24.
 102. Brussels R 204 b, fr. (Women).
 103. Athens, Agora, P 2035, fr., from Athens. From a lid?
 104. Athens, Agora, P 4628, fr., from Athens. *Hesp.* suppl. ii, 119 fig. 86, B 38. [R. S. Young].

105. Athens, North Slope, AP 2282, fr., from Athens. *Hesp.* 9, 168, 36. "From the neck of a vase." [Roebuck].

106. Leipsic, fr. (Siren or bird).

107. Leipsic, fr. (Female hand to l.).

108. Athens Acr. 549, fr., from Athens. (Female heads). From a neck-amphora or a hydria.

109. Athens Acr., fr., from Athens. (Middle of woman; to one side, breast of sphinx or siren). Reserved inside.

110. Athens Acr. AP 368, fr., from Athens. *Hesp.* 4, 246, 45. [Pease].

111. Athens, British School K 55, fr. From the neck of a neck-amphora?

According to R. M. Cook two fragments in Sofia, from Apollonia Pontica, belong to the Polos Group.

THE COMPANION OF THE POLOS PAINTER

HYDRIA

1. Athens, from Vari. *AA*. 1937, 122.

ARYBALLOI (with foot)

2. Athens, Vlasto, from Kalyvia. Plate VIII, 2. Swan between sirens, and swan.
 3. London 1930. 12—17.1. Plate VIII, 3. Sirens and panther.
 Compare

TRIPOD-PYXIS

1. Munich (ex Loeb). Sieveking *B. T. I*. 53.

PLATE, with Strap-Handles

2. Dresden inv. 50, from near Athens.

GROUP OF THE POLOS PAINTER

I noted the first three as by the "Companion of the Polos Painter," but I cannot check this and do not know if it will stand.

LIDLESS LEKANAI

1. Halle.
 2. Athens, Mr. G. Empedokles. A-B, each, lions confronted.

3. London B 102. 31, fr.

4. London 86. 4—11. 1146, fr.

TAIL-PIECE

THE SWAN GROUP

Graef and Wolters in Graef 61-3; Pfuhl 126 middle. A group of small vases usually decorated with swans (in black, details often in red; no incision) and rows of short strokes. In the skyphoi the swans are often drawn upside down and look right only when the skyphos is inverted. The vases are almost without exception very small, and many of them are tiny, like doll's-house ware.

SKYPHOI

Athens Acr. 581, from Athens [Graef]. Athens Acr. 582, fr., from Athens [Graef]. Athens, North Slope, AP 1693, fr., from Athens (*Hesp.* 9, 173, 52) [Roebuck]. Athens, North Slope, AP 1703, fr., from Athens (*Hesp.* 9, 173, 53) [Roebuck]. Athens, from Perachora. Athens, Vlasto, from Koropi (three). Athens. Vlasto, from Athens. Eleusis. Thebes, from Rhitsona, 49. 13 (*BSA.* 14 pl. 9, c). Thebes, from Rhitsona, 49. 14. Thebes, from Rhitsona, 50. 25. Thebes, from Rhitsona, 50. 26. Syracuse, from Syracuse (*Annali* 1877 pl. CD, 4) [Graef]. Reggio, Museo Civico (two). London A 512, from Athens. Oxford 1930, 168. Toronto 274 (Robinson and Harcum pl. 25 and p. 93 above). Louvre. Cab. Méd. H 1105 (*CV.* pl. 32, 4).

FOOTLESS CUP

Munich (Lau pl. 44, 4) [Graef: see Wolters in Graef 61].

PHIALAI

Berlin inv. 4511, from Boeotia (larger—dm. 14.7 cm.) [Graef]. Athens Acr. 572, fr., from Athens [Graef]. Athens 11732, part. Athens, Vlasto, from Athens. London A 492. Edinburgh. Petit Palais.

PHIALE ANOMPHALOS

London A 537.

NUPTIAL LEBETES

London A 507, from Athens. Oxford. Tour la Reine (Attica), Mrs. Serpieri. Athens, Vlasto, from Athens.

COLUMN-KRATERS

London white-2598 (ex Burgon). London white-2596, from Athens. London 2600.

DINOS (with Lid and Separate Stand)

Tour la Reine, Mrs. Serpieri.

DINOID KRATER (with Upright Handles and Spout)

London A 491.

KRATER (like the last, but without Spout or Offset Lip)

Athens 11732 (part).

SKYPHOS-KRATERS WITH STRAP HANDLES

Palermo (the lid missing). Toronto 275 (Robinson and Harcum pl. 25, and p. 93 below).

PYXIDES

(Tripod-Pyxides)

Toronto 276 (Robinson and Harcum pl. 25). Athens, Vlasto, from Koropi. Frankfort, Liebighaus, 9. 546. Market. Oxford 1924. 99 (*CV.* pl. 13, 6). Athens Acr., fr., from Athens (Graef 62) [Graef]. Athens Acr. 570, fr., from Athens [Graef]. Athens, North Slope, AP 1894, fr., from Athens (*Hesp.* 9, 173, 51) [Roebuck].

(Echinoid, with Four Handles)

Berlin inv. 31108.

(Normal, with Lid)

Copenhagen inv. 7300, from Athens (*CV.* pl. 100, 2). Vienna, Oest. Mus. (a different model).

(Concave-Sided)

Reggio, Mus. Civico. Roman market. Conservatori, from Praeneste (*ML.* 15 pl. 17, 2) [Graef]. Edinburgh 224. 365.

(Powder-Box)

Palermo. Palermo, fr. Palermo, from Selinus (lid). Palermo, fr., (of a lid). Petit Palais. Athens, Vlasto, from Athens. Berlin inv. 31057. Berlin inv. 31107. Athens Acr. 578, fr., from Athens (Graef pl. 20) [Graef]. Athens Acr. 577, fr., from Athens [Graef].

Athens, Vlasto, from Koropi (three). Piraeus.
Munich.

(Powder-Box, or Tripod-Pyxis)

Reggio, Mus. Civico, fr.

LIDS, various, mostly of Pyxides

Athens Acr. 575, fr., from Athens (Graef pl. 21) [Graef]. Athens Acr. 573, fr., from Athens [Graef]. Athens, North Slope, AP 2100, fr., from Athens (*Hesp.* 9, 173, 49) [Roebuck]. Athens, North Slope, AP 2101, fr., from Athens (*Hesp.* 9, 173, 50) [Roebuck]. London ?, fr., from Naucratis (*Nau-cratis* ii pl. 9, 8 [Pfuhl].

LEKANAI, lidded

Syracuse 3025 (or 3625), from Megara Hyblaea. Syracuse, from Gela. Athens Acr., fr. (of lid), from Athens. Athens, Vlasto, from Spata. Athens, Vlasto. Reggio, Mus. Civico (lid). Palermo, from Selinus, fr. Petit Palais (three). Leningrad, from Olbia (*AA.* 1912, 354, 9). Leningrad, from Kerch (*AA.* 1913, 191 fig. 29).

LIDLESS LEKANE (with special handles, turned into spirals at the ends)

Athens, Vlasto, from Koropi.

KOTHONS

Petit Palais (two).

KOTHONS, with one handle

London A 510, from Athens. Athens, Vlasto, from Phaleron.

DISH (shape as *AA.* 1933, 18 fig. 15)

London white-2609, from Athens.

BASKETS (low; curve as in the last; with bail)

London A 508, from Athens. London A 509, from Athens. Athens, Vlasto, from Koropi (two: found with the psykter).

HYDRIA

Petit Palais (cf. the Petit Palais olpe).

PSYKTERS (of 'rf.' type)

Athens, Vlasto, from Koropi. Berlin, Univ., D 194.

OINOCHOAI

(Olpe)

Petit Palais (cf. the Petit Palais hydria).

(Shape I-II, with Low Handle, Broadish Base, Collar)

London A 490.

(Shape III)

Athens, Vlasto, from Athens.

(Broad Base, Flat, Narrow Mouth)

Heidelberg V. 15, from Athens.

(Shape as *Hesp.* 7, 380-1)

Athens 690.

EGG

Athens 11195.

BELL

Athens Acr. 2652, from Athens (Graef pl. 112).

FRAGMENT

London.

RELATED TO THE SWAN GROUP

I (VARIOUS)

SKYPHOI

Athens, Vlasto, from Koropi. Athens, Vlasto, from Athens. Berlin inv. 3774.

PLATES

Toronto 277 (Robinson and Harcum pl. 25). Athens Acr. 571, from Athens (Graef pl. 23) [Graef].

LID

Athens Acr. 574, fr., from Athens (Graef pl. 21) [Graef].

PYXIS (concave)

Athens, Vlasto, from Athens.

OINOCHOAI

(Olpai)

Brussels. Syracuse, from Syracuse (*N. Sc.* 1907, 743) [Pfuhl].

(Shape III)

Athens, Vlasto, from Athens.

II

Oinochoai (similar to that in Heidelberg, but shorter and footless—like lopped protocorinthian aryballoi. See below).

1. Athens, from Phaleron ($\Delta\epsilon\lambda\tau.$ 2, 42 fig. 43, 3; *AJA.* 1942, 41 fig. 26, 36. 4) [Pfuhl].
2. Athens Acr. 578, from Athens (Graef 63) [Graef].

III

SKYPHOS

Cassel?, from Samos (Boehlau *Nekr.* pl. 5, 7).

DINOID PYXIDES

Cassel?, from Samos (Boehlau pl. 5, 5) Cassel, from Samos (Boehlau pl. 5, 6).

Graef noted that these vases from Samos, though very like the Swan Group, differed in using incision. One cannot tell from the reproductions whether they are Attic or not.

IV

(LIDLESS?) LEKANAI

Berlin, Mus. für Vor-und Frühgeschichte 3830, fr., from Troy (Hubert Schmidt 188, middle). Berlin, Mus. für Vor-und Frühgeschichte 3833, fr., from Troy.

I am not certain that these are even Attic. A lekane in London recalled them to me. I cannot tell from my hasty notes whether any of the skyphos and other fragments catalogued by Schmidt (nos. 3831-2, 3834-7, 3850) belong to the Swan Group proper.

V

The small neck-amphora Agora P 1262 (*Hesp.* 7, 372 fig. 6) and the fragment Agora P 1125 were put together by Vanderpool and seen by him to be related to the Swan Group (*Hesp.*

7, 373). Roebuck (*Hesp.* 9, 172) seems to place them rather closer to the Group proper than I should be inclined to do, but it is perhaps a question of definition.

The shapes used in the Swan Group, in general, suggest a date in the first half and probably the second quarter of the sixth century: but the psykter of "red-figure" type occurs, and none of the full-size vases of this type that have been preserved are earlier than the beginning of the last quarter. There is not much information about the circumstances of discovery: but skyphoi of the Swan Group were found in two tombs at Rhitsona, nos. 49 and 50, which from the rest of the contents must be dated, with Ure, shortly after the middle of the sixth century (*BSA.* 14, 250-264 and 306). This agrees with the evidence from Samos: skyphoi and pyxides, which, even if they should turn out not to belong to the Swan Group proper, are clearly the equivalents of Swan Group vases, were found in Tomb 40 (Boehlau *Nekr.* 43-4) with objects that must be of the middle of the sixth century or rather a little later. On the other hand, a lekane which seems to belong to the Group proper was found at Olbia on Hypanis with black-figure vases of the late sixth century: it may have been a hoarded trifle.

Of two vases that go together and might quite well be assigned to the Swan Group proper, although I have described them as related only (above, Sec. II), one was found at Phaleron in a very early context, together with vases from the last quarter of the seventh century (*AJA.* 1942, 42, R. S. Young).

It may be added that the motive "birds upside down," though characteristic of the Swan Group, occurs elsewhere, for instance in an Attic skyphos, not of the Group, found at Phaleron with Attic and Corinthian vases of about 600 B.C. (Athens 14961: $\Delta\epsilon\lambda\tau.$ 2, 34 fig. 24, 2; *AJA.* 1942, 44 fig. 29, 2, R. S. Young).

J. D. BEAZLEY

THE FOOT OF SARAPIS

I. PRIMARY MONUMENTS

Anyone who collects the monuments associated with Mithras, as F. Cumont did, or with the "Egyptian" gods, as T. A. Brady is doing, or with the "Syrian" gods, as F. R. Walton is doing, will come upon a curious type of monument—the grotesque, snake-entwined, bust-crowned, gigantic Foot of Sarapis. In no other ancient or modern cult, so far as we are aware, is there anything quite like these objects. The fact that it was a symbol on Imperial Roman coinage indicates that in its own day as well the Foot of Sarapis was felt to be distinctive.

In modern scholarly writings there is no lack of references to these monuments (we have tried to record all references). It happens, however, that no one has had in hand at one time the materials necessary for a passable study of any one of them, let alone a study of all together. The accidental discovery, in 1936, of another Foot, the first and only example known in Athens, and the largest known anywhere, led us to collect evidence on the others.

One would expect to find that numerous examples had survived. Writing in 1820, H. Meyer knew only one example of such feet carved in the round. The number has increased slowly. In the present study we have tried to assemble all the feet in the round which are positively attested as being associated with Sarapis, and we have found only five. Doubtless some few more exist unpublished, but not, we believe, more than a few. In the past, nine lists (*infra*) of known examples have been compiled: interest has not been lacking. Thanks to A. Adriani in Alexandria, and to O. Guéraud in Cairo, we know that we now have all the examples in those museums. A new one from Athens is added, but only one: it is doubtful whether there are more in Athens. Brady's extensive and careful search for monuments related to the Egyptian gods has yielded no others; yet his whole list of extant large monuments associated with the cult (*infra*) runs to 376 items.

Feet of Sarapis, then, were common enough to be familiar, as the coins testify, but examples in marble large enough to bear as well some sculptured representation of the god were never numerous. A prime reason for their rarity, doubtless, was that they were expensive.

NOTE. The authors intended to submit the article, at Signor Adriani's request, and in return for his kindness, to the *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique d'Alexandrie*. M. O. Guéraud also gave generous assistance. Mrs. Mary Wallace, in addition to answering inquiries about No. 2 sent to her in Athens, has done all the parts that relate to sandals. Professor A. D. Nock, Dr. F. R. Walton, and Dr. G. M. A. Hanfmann gave valuable help. We are grateful to all these, and not least to Prof. T. A. Brady, who gave us access to his rich materials, and read the typescript beneficially.

The first scholar to point out the need for a study of these monuments was G. Lafaye (article cited *infra*). Soon after, in *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, LXVIII, 1913, p. 69, note 1, A. J. Reinach announced that he had long been preparing a study of "Le pied de Sérapis," and asked his readers to furnish information on monuments of that type. He died in the First World War, and the study never appeared. In 1936 S. Dow came upon the foot published below as No. 2, and included mention of it in an article which repeated Reinach's request for information; the replies received are acknowledged separately in the course of these studies. The onset of the present war has prevented the obtaining of as full information about the known examples as ideally ought to be presented. We have tried, however, to exhaust such materials as were available to us; and by suppressing for the present all broader theories, we have attempted to present in useful form merely what is given. It seems to us that a precise conception of the ideas behind these dedications, of their place in the history of religion and of art, had better wait upon exact knowledge of the monuments. In a second installment we hope to collect the (more numerous) minor monuments: reliefs, coins, related objects, and the like.

The following lists of Sarapis feet have been drawn up. These lists are referred to *infra* by the authors' names alone:

- C. Jahn, *Berichte der königlich sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, Phil.-Hist. Classe, VII, 1855, p. 103, note 310.
- W. Drexler in W. H. Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, vol. II, part I (1890-1894), cols. 526-528.
- J. N. Svoronos, *Das Athener Nationalmuseum* (Athens, 1908), pp. 489-490.
- S. Reinach, *Répertoire de la statuaire grecque et romaine*, vol. II, part I (ed. 2, Paris, 1908), p. 20.
- G. Lafaye in C. Daremburg and E. Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités*, IV (1909), p. 1251.
- H. P. Weitz in Roscher, *op. cit.*, vol. IV (1910), col. 382.
- S. de Ricci, *Revue archéologique*, IV série, vol. XVI (1910, II), pp. 96-100.
- O. Weinreich, *Athenische Mitteilungen*, XXXVII, 1912, pp. 37-38, especially 37, note 1.
- T. A. Brady, *Repertory of Statuary and Figured Monuments Relating to the Cult of the Egyptian Gods* (a preliminary but indispensable check list, published December, 1938, in mimeographed form by the author; address, Chairman, Department of History, University of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri), pp. 25-26.

Since their relative dates are mostly unknown and probably unknowable, the monuments are herein presented in the alphabetical order of their present or last known locations: (1) Alexandria, (2) Athens, (3) [Cairo], (4) Florence, (5) Turin.

1. Figs. 1-4. Alexandria, Musée Gréco-Romain, inventory no. 3915.

Found in Alexandria in the *Σεβαστεῖον*. In December, 1873, it is described as "recently acquired" (*Bull. Inst. Egy.*, XII, p. 160).

Present length, 0.38 m.; present height, 0.33 m. Original length, *ca.* 0.39 m.; original height, probably *ca.* 0.45 m.

White marble (E. Breccia).

Bibliography. T. D. Neroutsos, *Bulletin de l'Institut Égyptien*, XII, 1873, pp. 166-167; *Ἀθήναιον*, III, 1874, pp. 86-87, no. 4; the latter is said to be reprinted in his *Ἐπιγραφὰὶ τῆς Πόλεως Ἀλεξανδρείας* (1875; *non vidimus*), p. 35, no. 4. M. G. Demitsas, *Ἱστορία Ἀλεξανδρείας*, p. 763 (*non vidimus*). C. Schmidt, *Archaeologischer Anzeiger*, 1896, pp. 93-94. G. Botti, *Catalogue des Monuments d'Alexandrie* (1900), p. 217, no. 184 (*non vidimus*). Amelung, *Rev. arch.*, II, 1903, p. 190, no. 6. Svoronos, p. 489, fig. 231. Reinach, p. 20, no. 4. Lafaye, p. 1251. Weitz, col. 382. De Ricci, p. 99, note 1. M. Bieber, *Athenische Mitteilungen*, XXXV, 1910, p. 8, note 2. E. Breccia, *Iscrizioni Greche e Latine (Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée d'Alexandrie, Vol. 57: Cairo, 1911)*, no. 128 and pl. 28. Weinreich, nos. III and IV. E. Breccia, *Alexandrea ad Aegyptum* (Bergamo, 1922), p. 210, no. 33. Brady, no. 363.

A curious problem is provided by Reinach's drawing (Fig. 2), which shows the head of Sarapis as if preserved on the bust. The drawing was based on a photograph sent to Reinach by Maspero. The head appeared in the photograph and was certainly not invented by Reinach's draughtsman; the photograph was sent by Reinach to Amelung and Amelung entered the monument in his list of heads conforming to the type of Bryaxis. Now apart from this photograph (the present whereabouts of which is unknown) and Reinach's drawing based upon it, the monument in question, as a piece distinct from any other, is altogether unknown. All references (as, e. g., in Weinreich) are to republications of the drawing. Adriani reports that this piece (as distinct from 3915) is not now in the Alexandria Museum. Reinach first published his drawing in 1898. Maspero, although he first went to Egypt in 1880, *may* have received the photograph from Egypt before then, but it seems more likely that he secured the photograph during his many years in Egypt and that he sent it to Reinach for the special purpose of having it included in the *Répertoire*.

In 1873, i. e., some years before Maspero went to Egypt, Neroutsos first published the foot which, as the inscription proves, is the one now preserved as no. 3915 in the Alexandria Museum (Figs. 1 and 3). When Neroutsos published it, it was, he says, headless. It is headless now.

Did it acquire and then lose a head? Rather than believe such a theory, the reader will doubtless be inclined first to inquire whether the foot of Maspero's photo-



Fig. 1. No. 1. View from Side



Fig. 2. No. 1. From
Reinach, *Rep. stat.*,
II, p. 20, no. 4



Fig. 3. No. 1. View from Rear



Fig. 4. King Cobra, *Naia Hannah*.
From R. L. Ditmars, *Reptiles of the World*

graph may not be a different foot from Alexandria 3915. Comparison of the drawing with the photographs will show the reader how the question stands. It is unlikely in the extreme that two monuments were carved to look exactly alike in every other particular, and notably in that the sandal on each is shown without a sole; and that subsequently they each broke so as to give a similar configuration at the toe and apparently also on the tongue. Instead, Reinach's drawing would seem to be an accurate version of 3915, insofar as 3915 is now preserved.¹

This view, viz., that the two feet are in reality one and the same, is confirmed by De Ricci, since he expressed no doubt that the Maspero foot is identical with Alexandria 3915. In *Rev. arch.*, II, 1903, p. 190, note 1 he remarks, "Selon Néroutsos, la tête manquerait. La tête actuelle serait-elle rapportée?" In *Rev. arch.*, XVI, 1910, p. 99 he listed only the one foot in Alexandria.²

An explanation might be that the real head was in fact recovered perhaps from some storage bin, was photographed, and subsequently got lost; or that at the time Maspero's photograph was taken, someone had tried to fit onto the bust a head which did not belong.³

Be the explanation what it may, the monument has had some rough usage since the time of Maspero. The right serpent is apparently complete in Reinach's drawing, whereas with respect to this serpent the photograph shows the loss (through breakage) of the head and forepart, and of a middle section.⁴

Assuming the two feet to be one, then, we may proceed to a description. The foot is a right foot, surmounted by a draped bust of Sarapis which extends down below the armpits and breasts. The bust rests as a separate thing, so to speak, on the ankle; there is no attempt to mask the transition, but instead a short portion of the leg is shown above the sandal. Reinach's drawing shows a head of the type of Bryaxis, though the locks on the forehead are more orderly, and less distinct from each other, than in No. 4. A modius should doubtless be restored on the head. Reinach's

¹ Mrs. Wallace has noticed that in respect to sandals the drawings in Reinach, possibly through no fault of his, are not always reliable—some statues which have sandals are shown in Reinach bare-footed, and vice versa—and that in respect to all sorts of attributes and the like, the draughtsmen restore freely.

² Weinreich in 1912 listed the two feet as different, but we suspect, from the fact that he fails to discuss De Ricci's question, that he had not studied the matter. Reinach in his second edition, that of 1908, had already perceived that the two pieces were identical, since he adds in that edition "Cf. [Néroutsos] 'Αθήναϊον, 1874, p. 86."

³ No one who has had experience with museums and excavations would find either explanation surprising. It may be noted that there are several small heads of Sarapis in Alexandria, apparently of the right size (*Rev. arch.*, II, 1903, p. 180, no. 5 might do).

⁴ Conceivably the draughtsman in his drawing restored these parts from a photograph which showed them as missing. This is highly unlikely, however, since a frontal photograph of what exists at present would not prove that a *cobra* was to be restored. The only possibility is that the draughtsman was able to make restorations from a second photograph which showed the back.

drawing shows the eyeballs outlined as if by incision in the marble: this too is doubtless a reliable detail,—at any rate his other drawings on the same page lack any indication of eyeballs.

At the rear of the foot there is developed a symmetrical composition the interest of which is in the balancing of the left serpent, powerful and bizarre, in the left half of the space, against the little rounded form of the infant Harpokrates in the right half. Beneath, as a base for this design, two strong serpent-loops bend symmetrically away from each other. Above, the drapery over the shoulders of the bust frames the whole; the sides are rounded off by two other folds of serpent just under the shoulders. The center was accented at the bottom by the heel with its inscription, at the top by the head of Sarapis, crowned by a modius, and in the middle by a vertical fold of the left serpent. It is evident from this highly elaborate composition, as well as from the position of the inscription, that the rear was intended to be observed, in fact was intended to be just as interesting as the front view.

In the photograph of the rear, the whole mass appears to lean awkwardly to the left. It will be noted that the unbalance would be cured by the restoration of the right serpent's head and the large fold of his body as seen in Reinach's drawing.

The left serpent terminates as a cobra with the ouraios crown on the head (a crown which should doubtless be restored on the right serpent also). On the left serpent there can be observed a drape-like fold of skin, as it were, covering the shoulders and extending down the sides; broken away on the outer side, an end can nevertheless be seen on a lower fold of the serpent (side view). It is to be remarked that the serpents have serpents' heads, not human heads as in No. 5: the reason is doubtless that although one serpent might have been shown with a head of Isis, it was not fitting that the other, her companion, should be a mere snake, or alternatively should be shown with the head of Sarapis, whose head already surmounted the bust.

The carving of the folds of the serpents was a delicate task, and in fact the serpent on the proper right of the foot broke and was repaired, presumably in classical times. The rear view shows holes bored to receive pins for fastening in place a piece cut separately. The piece thus restored was not straight, but was rather a fold or loop; further to determine its shape from the photograph is impossible, but the Reinach drawing suggests a very elaborate loop with the serpent's head cut on the same piece of stone. If the drawing can be trusted, then it was this piece, broken off and repaired in ancient times, which has broken off again and been lost in modern times,—a not unusual happening.

The tail end of this serpent is also broken away. The photograph seems to show no trace of it attached (as on the other side) to the sandal; the last bit preserved suggests that it hung loose, but the Reinach drawing shows a rough area, as if it had in fact been attached to the sandal.

A fold of the left serpent has also been broken away. There is no sign of a repair. Hence the break occurred after the statue was finished, probably in post-classical times. As seen from the front, the missing fold was needed to balance the prominent forepart of the right serpent.

Above the uppermost fold of the right serpent, the drapery over the right shoulder of the bust is broken away. Two holes show here as if another repair had been made in ancient times; but the matter is uncertain, since the holes are smaller, less regular in outline, and apparently not well placed for a repair. No other explanation, however, will account for these holes.

Of the child Harpokrates the lower half is preserved. The figure is seated in one of the poses conventional for Harpokrates when shown as a child, with the right leg straight, the left bent.⁵ The left leg is damaged; but the shape of the break indicates that something more than the knee is missing. The object in question, of which part is preserved, is the cornucopia (cf. No. 2). As almost always with Harpokrates, the right arm should be restored with finger on lip (No. 2).⁶ Technically the notable fact about the figure of Harpokrates is that no part of it above the waist was attached to the marble behind; it was cut in the round for greater prominence, and as one more display of technical virtuosity.

The pin or peg which fastened the tongue of the sandal was enriched by a raised design of some sort. Its nature we cannot determine, except that clearly it is not a Kerberos such as appears on the tongue of No. 2.

The inscription may be thus transcribed:

Σαραπίωνι ἐπ' ἀγα
θῷ
Π(όπλιος) Ἀκείλι(ο)ς Ζώσιμος
σὺν ΑΙΜΟΕΙ Δορυφόρῳ ἐποίει

The three lines are all by the same hand. It has not been realized, however, that line 1 was the last to be inscribed: this is shown by the fact that it is crowded into too small a space, so that the last two letters had to be written underneath. If line 1 had been the first to be inscribed, it would have been cut where line 2 now stands.

As to the date: the lettering of the inscription, the fact that the eyeballs are shown, and the fact that the bust extends well down, all assure a late date, almost certainly Antonine.⁷

⁵ E. g., Carl M. Kaufmann, *Aegyptische Terrakotten* (Cairo, 1913), p. 52, fig. 29 (cf. p. 46); cf. Reinach, *Rép. stat.*, II, pp. 485-487.

⁶ A few exceptions: notably some examples of *Harpokrates chernibopastes*, with no finger to lip, Kaufmann, *Aeg. Terra.*, pp. 55-57, and fig. 31; left arm raised with finger of left hand to lip, Kaufmann and Reinach, *loc. cit.*, *passim*.

⁷ On the date of the lettering, there seems to be no reason for not accepting the opinion of those who have worked in Alexandria, Neroutsos and Breccia; from them no one has dissented. Incised

2. Figs. 5-7. Athens, Ἐθνικὸν Μουσεῖον; now shelved with numerous fragments of sculpture in the storeroom opening at the ground level on the west side of the court. Not recorded in the museum inventory.

Date of discovery unknown, but probably some decades earlier than 1936. Place of discovery also not recorded, but there need be no doubt that it was found in Athens, since a piece so unwieldy and considered so little notable would not have been transported to Athens from elsewhere. Probably it was dedicated in the Sarapieion in Athens.⁸

Length (original), 0.64 m.; width (original), 0.295 m.; present height, *ca.* 0.32 m. The original height may have been (cf. No. 1) well over twice as great, say *ca.* 0.80 m. Details: thickness of sole on the left (inner) side, 0.07 m.; on the outer side, 0.075 m.; present distance from top of sole to break at crocodile's snout, 0.20 m.; length of dog, 0.055 m.

White Pentelic marble.

Hitherto unpublished; its existence was first noted in *Harv. Theol. Rev.*, XXX, 1937, p. 225 and fig. 3. The commentary there given is supplanted by what follows herein.

A right foot, sandalled, with figures and decoration in low relief, and a serpent in high relief. The surface in general is somewhat rubbed, and the (broken) surface of the present top is worn more or less smooth; lesser chippings occur at the big toe, at the rear of the sole, in the serpent, etc.

In the preliminary notice, the question was hesitantly raised whether this might not be a fragment of the cult statue of Sarapis in the Sarapieion in Athens, though the possibility was also suggested that it might be a separate "Sarapis foot." The scale is suitable for a cult statue, and the position of the break at the top would certainly be more natural in a complete statue than in a separate foot. The bottom, however, so Mrs. Wallace reports, was not smoothed to form a good contact surface, but was left fairly rough; and there is no cutting for any attachment. Equally decisive is the scale of the serpent, which would be a mere worm in contrast to a statue of two to three times life size; further, the head of the serpent would almost certainly be concealed beneath the god's robe. Undoubtedly therefore the foot was a separate dedication.

The heel, or counter, of the shoe lacks floral decoration. The middle of the back is occupied by a crocodile; the rest of the space is left blank. Just on the corners, two

eyeballs can be as early as Hadrian: Henry Stuart Jones, *Companion to Roman History* (Oxford, 1912), p. 382. Size of bust, *ibid.*, p. 381.

⁸ Somewhere between the present Metropolitan Church and the North Slope of the Acropolis: Pausanias, I, 18, 4; W. Judeich, *Topographie* (ed. 2, 1931), p. 380; S. Dow, *Harv. Theol. Rev.*, XXX, 1937, pp. 187-188, 209, 226-227, 230, note 156. A new inscription concerning the cult of Sarapis in Athens in Roman times is to be published by T. A. Brady.



Fig. 5. No. 2. From Above



Fig. 6. No. 2. From Right Rear

rather small and crowded figures appear, one of which, on the outer corner, is recognizable as Anoubis; the other, on the inner corner, is Harpocrates. The figures of Anoubis and Harpocrates belong, that is, rather to the side views, not to the back; Anoubis definitely faces away from the crocodile. The crocodile, which therefore is not bound to them in the composition, nevertheless is not a mere space-filler, since a



Fig. 7. No. 2. From Left

floral ornament would have served as well or better. The designer evidently *wanted* a crocodile there, presumably because of its association with Egypt;⁹ no part was played by the crocodile, so far as we know, in the cult of Sarapis in Greece, and of course there need be no thought of the crocodile god which was so popular in contemporary Egypt. In Greek art crocodiles are rare.¹⁰

⁹ It may be noted that *if* the Apis bull had any connection with Sarapis in the popular mind outside Egypt, here was a capital chance to express it. The area would accommodate a bull much more nicely than a crocodile. On a dubious sculptured bull allegedly connected with the cult in Athens, see *Harv. Theol. Rev.*, XXX, 1937, p. 226.

¹⁰ Reinach, *Rep. stat.*, I, 535; II, 272; III, 225; IV, 528; V, 456, 465, 532. (For meanings only II, 272 is important, a woman with her foot on a crocodile's head: the woman may symbolize Egypt, the crocodile being a sort of local attribute, exactly as is the crocodile on the foot of Sarapis.) Add: A. de Longpérier, *Notice des bronzes antiques du Louvre* (Paris, 1879), p. 210, no. 978 and

The figure of Harpokrates has approximately the same height in the relief as Anoubis, but doubtless the designer did not intend to be realistic in this respect. Still, Harpokrates appears as a youth, not as in No. 1 where he is an infant. The pose is conventional—right arm with finger to mouth, left arm holding the “cornucopia”;¹¹ as usual, the figure is nude, and also as usual, the hair is intended to appear as a curly mass. The gesture of the finger on the lips was considered by the Greeks, at least in late periods, to be a gesture of silence.¹²

Anoubis is shown partly draped and, as always, with an animal head; the right arm is raised to the chest, the left carries a palm branch. The palm branch probably derives from the felt kinship of Anoubis with Hermes Psychopompos, and possibly (?) symbolizes victory over death,¹³ (and, in view of the fact that he was *νικηφόρος* in the games,¹⁴ his power of bestowing agonistic victory?). The most interesting feature is the animal head. In general the Greeks had an aversion to animal deities.¹⁵ It should be remembered, however, that for the deities at Lykosoura, Damophon could chisel anthropoid figures with animal heads.¹⁶ This to be sure was in Arkadia, where a horse-headed Artemis was worshipped;¹⁷ but even in Athenian Delos in the second century B.C. the cult statue of Anoubis had (as always, Brady tells us) a jackal head.¹⁸ However, that statue had disappeared long before the present foot was carved, and the artisan obviously had no very exact idea of a jackal; apparently he conceived that it should look like a dog, but he chose a mastiff-like type, whereas some other breed was called for.

On the lower fold of the tongue, just inside the triple raised border, there appears a small dog with a body not unlike that of a Dachshund. There are at least two heads, one pointing forward, one backward; a third may look up toward the spectator, but that cannot be determined. This little beast is of course Kerberos, who in the great Alexandrian statue by Bryaxis stood on the god's right side, a symbol (together with the unearthly gray-blue color of the marble from which the god was carved.¹⁹ and the

references. On a relief in Egypt, with a Greek inscription, E. Breccia, *Alexandrea ad Aegyptum* (1914), p. 171, and fig. 45 (crocodile god).

As to the crocodile god among the Greeks in Egypt, see T. A. Brady, *Reception of the Egyptian Cults by the Greeks* (*University of Missouri Studies*, X, 1, Jan., 1935), pp. 14-17.

¹¹ The cornucopia is the Greek rhyton.

¹² F. Cumont, *Les religions orientales dans le paganisme romain* (ed. 4, Paris, 1929), pl. VI. The origin of the gesture was pre-Greek Egyptian (C. M. Kaufmann, *Aeg. Terra.*, p. 44, fig. 27).

¹³ F. Cumont, *op. cit.*, pl. VI.

¹⁴ P. Roussel, *Cultes égyptiens à Délos* (Nancy, 1916), p. 277.

¹⁵ Cumont, *op. cit.*, pp. 73 f. and note 11; pl. VII.

¹⁶ References to the Damophon group and also to terracottas from Lykosoura with animal heads, A. W. Lawrence, *Later Greek Sculpture*, p. 121.

¹⁷ Various evidence on this and related matters: G. Dickins, *Brit. Sch. Ann.*, XIII, 1906-7, p. 394.

¹⁸ Roussel, *Cultes*, pp. 32, 276-277.

¹⁹ A fine color plate made from a head of Sarapis in blue stone in A. B. Cook's *Zeus* (Vol. III,

reminiscence of Plouton in the countenance) of the underworld connections of Sarapis.

The sole of the sandal is notable for its two mouldings, a type of sole favored earlier by Damophon. The sandal is really a shoe with the toes left bare, a favorite design in late Hellenistic times, and capable of infinite variety. In the present form, the shoe would be kept on comfortably by a strap between the large and second toes, a strap which presumably would be attached to the under part of the tongue. The tongue goes up the instep and falls back over the bow; it is on the lower end of the tongue that the dog Kerberos is shown. Since there is no strap across the toes, such a shoe would certainly be a "dress" shoe rather than a "street" shoe; and generally on ancient statues the more elaborate the footgear, the less practical it seems to be. The present shoe would extend up to just above the ankle, where the tie would go through a loop on each side before the tongue was brought down over the bow. At the heel heavy lines mark off the counter from the rest of the shoe. Just behind these lines, thongs hang down on either side; the purpose of the thongs is unknown.

The construction of the shoe demands that at least a few more centimeters of marble be restored above the present break at the top. Even allowing for wear, the break is, as we have remarked, at a curious level—it would be expected to come higher—and we therefore suggest that above the shoe the leg showed as in No. 1; and that atop this section of leg there was carved a heavy bust, again as in No. 1, or an entire seated figure, as in No. 5. The bust or figure would of course represent Sarapis.

This theory of a considerable height to the monument fits well also with the necessary restoration of the serpent. The serpent, unlike the other figures, is in high relief, and hence *qua* snake doubtless was conceived as a representation of reality, not a figure merely decorating a surface. To judge by its diameter, the preserved part of the serpent can hardly be more than half the length or less. The serpent doubtless terminated with the cobra's forepart, and either a head of Isis or more probably (since Sarapis was evidently on top of the ankle and was doubtless in human guise) an ouraios serpent symbolizing Isis. Isis can hardly have been absent when the other three of the quartette were present.

The floral ornamentation is free and graceful on the two sides, but it is less vigorously organic on the tongue. In floral designs the Ara Pacis had long since pointed the way, and doubtless any tyro could achieve a passable effect. Mrs. Wallace doubts whether the floral decoration (or the other figures) were thought of by the craftsman as embroidered on the surface;²⁰ more likely they were conceived (except for the serpent, of course) as reliefs on the marble surface.

Part II [Cambridge, 1940], pl. LXXIV at p. 1071) probably brings us as near as we can come to the effect of the original body. The face of the original, however, may have been gilded (T. A. Brady, *Harv. Stud. Class. Philol.*, LI, 1940, pp. 61-69).

²⁰ For an example of true embroidery on footwear, she instances the closed shoe from Pergamon in *Pergamon*, vol. VII, part I, fig. 47 b.

As a whole, the modelling, though not incompetent, is slight and hasty; the surface was left somewhat rough; the whole is not of a "good" period. The breadth of the somewhat flattish and not very comely foot, Mrs. Wallace writes, is another late feature.

3. Figs. 8-9. Once in the Harris Collection in Cairo. Apparently last examined by Prisse in 1844; present location is unknown. O. Guéraud reports that it is not now and undoubtedly never has been in the Cairo Museum; that it was presumably sold



Fig. 8. No. 3

From *Rev. arch.*, VII, 1850-51, pl. 152



Fig. 9. Copy of Bryaxis' Sarapis

From E. Breeia, *Alexandrea ad Aegyptum*,
p. 112, fig. 45.

with the rest of the Harris Collection. We believe its whereabouts as late as 1905 can be plausibly conjectured. De Ricci (p. 99) overlooks Maury's and the other discussions of the foot in the Harris Collection. On the other hand, he writes (*ibid.*) of a foot of Sarapis, "de grande dimension, que j'ai aperçu au Caire, chez M. Philipp en mars 1905." De Ricci had earlier referred to this same foot as follows (*Rev. arch.*, VIII, 1906, p. 380), "J'ai vu un autre pied analogue [to No. 5 of Turin] dans le commerce au Caire en février [sc. mars ?] 1905." The analogy to the foot in Turin consists in the fact that both feet have serpents or a serpent, and that both are dedications to Sarapis; but this surely is close enough. It seems therefore altogether likely, in view of the now apparent rarity of feet of Sarapis, that the foot from the Harris Collection found its way into the hands of the dealer Philipp.

Found in the excavations of the Caesareum in Alexandria (Prisse d'Avesnes), sometime before 1845.

Somewhat larger than life size (Maury), "de grande dimension" (De Ricci, *supra*).

White marble (Prisse).

Bibliography. Panofka, *Asklepios und die Asklepiaden* (*Abhandlungen der könig. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, phil.-hist. Klasse, 1845 [published in 1847]), p. 344, note 1. Prisse d'Avesnes, *Rev. arch.*, II, 1845-46, p. 752. A. Maury, *Rev. arch.*, VII, 1850-51, pp. 600-602, pl. 152. Jahn, p. 103, note 310. Drexler, col. 528. Svoronos, p. 489, fig. 233. Reinach, p. 20, no. 7. Weitz, col. 382. Weinreich, no. II.

It is unfortunate that Maury's drawing should be the only surviving image of this foot. Clearly it was a right foot, sandalled, and surmounted by a "human" figure flanked by subsidiary figures. That the main figure represented Sarapis is demonstrated by the perfect similarity in detail to a copy in Alexandria of the great archetype (by Bryaxis ?) in Alexandria (Fig. 9). The head with its modius is missing, and also the left arm, doubtless with a scepter in the hand.²¹

Prisse d'Avesnes was the first to describe it (in four lines only), and we are not sure that any scholar has ever really studied the original. Prisse d'Avesnes says that the seated figure is flanked by a dolphin [on its left] and by an ouraios serpent [proper right].

In considering this matter we may note first that Sarapis in the archetype had Kerberos on his right side, seated near the front corner of the throne. No one has said so, but there need be no doubt that Kerberos appeared also in the present monument,²² in approximately the same position. Sarapis' hand seems to rest on his back (or on one head), and this detail is vouched for by the Bryaxis original.²³ Maury's draughtsman and Maury both failed to discern Kerberos. Now as to the ouraios serpent, that seems clear in the drawing.²⁴ A serpent appeared in the Bryaxis statue, and in No. 1 there is an ouraios serpent the forepart of which appears just as here. It is the dolphin which raises a question. The drawing seems indisputably to show on Sarapis' left something quite unlike a dolphin, something resembling rather folds of a serpent. Sarapis was of course in part a marine god, and the sea can be symbolized by a dolphin;²⁵ but no dolphin actually appears in any representation of Sarapis known to us. We therefore conjecture that on the left there appears either

²¹ As in the original by Bryaxis: Amelung, *Rev. arch.*, II, 1903, p. 196.

²² Kerberos is present in all the statues of Sarapis seated shown in Reinach, *Rep. stat.*

²³ Amelung, *Rev. arch.*, II, 1903, p. 196.

²⁴ Drexler called it a snake or an eagle (!), but the bird would have a precarious perch.

²⁵ Because of the dolphin, Maury rejected the identification of the central figure as Sarapis.

part of the serpent whose head is on the right, or part of a second serpent. This does not explain all that the drawing shows on the right; but a broken section of serpent could easily be mistaken for a dolphin.

Maury notes that there is an inscription on the back, but he is ignorant of its content.

4. Fig. 10. Florence, Uffizi (Brady reports that he was unable to locate it).

Found before 1817.

Length (original), 0.33 m. (Duetschke).

Greek Marble (Duetschke).

Bibliography. G. B. Zannoni, *Reale Galleria di Firenze illustrata* [Uffizi], Serie IV, Vol. I (Florence, 1817), pp. 113-118, pl. 38. H. Meyer in C. A. Boettiger's *Amalthæa, oder Museum der Kunstmythologie*, Vol. I (Leipzig, 1820), p. 288, no. 38. H. Duetschke, *Die Antiken Bildwerke in Oberitalien*, Vol. III (1878), p. 242, no. 542. G. Lafaye, *Histoire du Culte des Divinités d'Alexandrie* (Paris, 1884), p. 273, no. 27. W. Drexler, col. 527. W. Amelung, *Rev. arch.*, II, 1903, p. 193, no. 26. Svoronos, p. 489, fig. 232. Reinach, p. 20, no. 6. De Ricci, p. 99. Lafaye, p. 1251, fig. 6369. Weitz, col. 382, fig. 232. Weinreich, p. 37, no. 1. Hans Haas, *Bilderatlas zur Religionsgeschichte*, 9-11 Lieferungen (compiled by J. Leipoldt, Leipzig, 1926), fig. 15. Brady, p. 26, no. 365.

A right foot, naked, cut in the same block of marble as the oblong base on which it rests and (also part of the same block) a bust of Sarapis, draped and wearing a modius. For a bare foot a base is practically a necessity. The front corners of the base are cut back slightly (Duetschke) leaving a bulge in the middle. Amelung lists the head as conforming to the type established by Bryaxis. The eyeballs seem to have been indicated, if at all, by paint. The drapery appears not to be unusual. On the modius, Amelung notes three branches: the modius of the Alexandrian original by Bryaxis was decorated with olive trees in relief.²⁶

This piece stands in contrast to the others for its restraint and simplicity. The reason is *not* its moderate size: since the shoulders are wider than the base, the block must have been large enough for, e. g., a serpent to be carved about the foot.

The comparatively small extent of the bust would suggest the Flavian period or a little later. The fact that eyeballs are not incised also suggests a date earlier than Hadrian. These indications, taken together with the absence of a sandal and of all other accessories, point plainly to a date for this foot earlier than the date of the other feet.

²⁶ Amelung, *loc. cit.*, p. 197.



Fig. 10. No. 4

From G. B. Zannoni, *Reale Galleria di Firenze*, Serie IV, Vol. I, pl. 38.

5. Figs. 11 and 12. Turin, Museo di Antichità. Date of discovery unknown; earlier than 1855.

Length (original), 0.71 m.; height (original), 0.43 m.

White (Heydemann) Greek (Duetschke) marble.

Bibliography. *Coll. Drovetti*, Mon. no. 27; *Doc. inéd.*, III, p. 291 (these two cited by Svoronos; *non vidimus*). P. C. Orcurti, *Catalogo dei monumenti egizii del R. Museo di Torino*, Vol. I (Turin, ca. 1855 ?) no. 67 (cited by Weinreich; *non vidimus*). O. Jahn, *Ber. d. S. G. d. W.*, 1855, p. 103, note 310. F. Wieseler, *Gött. Nachr.*, 1877, p. 655. H. G. D. Heydemann, *3te Hall. Winckelmannsprogramm*, 1879, p. 38, no. 3. H. Duetschke, *Antike Bildwerke in Oberitalien*, IV (Leipzig, 1880), pp. 66-67, no. 103. Gerhard, *Prodromus* (text to *Ant. Bildwerke*), p. 146, note 8. W. Drexler, in Roscher's *Lexikon*, II, i, cols. 510 and 528. S. de Ricci, *Rev. arch.*, VIII, 1906, pp. 379-380, no. 38. Svoronos, 489. S. de Ricci, p. 99. Weinreich, no. V. Brady, no. 366.

A right foot, sandalled, the heavy sole being prolonged to form a base for a statuette of Harpokrates; serpents, one on each side, terminating as Sarapis and Isis. Above, the ankle is cut off smooth (except apparently for a bevelled edge); no figure was set atop the whole. Curiously, this smooth top surface is not horizontal, but slopes down toward the outer side, *perhaps* because the original block of marble sloped thus and could not be evened off horizontally without leaving the modius of Sarapis projecting upward awkwardly by itself.

The design allowed no more space to the serpents than the length and height of



Fig. 11. No. 5. From Front

the ankles: the tails were therefore not shown at all, and the serpents' bodies wriggle out from behind Harpokrates. As snakes they are of different species, Isis being conceived as a cobra (but more as a woman than in Nos. 1 [and 3?]); Sarapis is much the longer; behind, a fold of his serpent body reaches to the level of his head; the head itself, with its beard and high modius, is the larger of the two and (as befitted the male deity) the more prominent. The type of face was clearly that of Bryaxis.²⁷



Fig. 12. No. 5. From Rear

Much of the monument is well preserved: one suspects that the chief injuries, viz., to the right leg and arm and to the cornucopia of Harpokrates, and particularly to all three heads, were the work of some not very energetic Christian vandal. Isis wore some sort of head-dress: the Pschent (? Heydemann).

Anoubis and Kerberos are entirely omitted. The notable figure is that of Harpokrates, to include which the designer made the special effort of awkwardly prolonging the sole of the sandal for a base, even giving the prolongation a bulge on the outer side to accommodate a tree stump for the god to lean on. Harpokrates, a sturdy youth (cf. Nos. 2 and 1) rests his left elbow and cornucopia on the stump, and his chlamys covers the left shoulder, falling over cornucopia and left arm down the stump to the base itself. "Der rechte Arm," says Heydemann, "lag aber nicht am

Munde, da keine Spur vom Arm auf der Brust zu sehen ist." The arm is preserved to the middle of the biceps, however, and this part of the arm, i. e., the upper arm, clearly extended downward; unless the hand was joined to the mid-thigh in some almost unexampled pose, it must have been carried to the lips in the almost invariable gesture for the right hand of Harpokrates.²⁸ The photograph, moreover, seems to

²⁷ For Sarapis and Isis together as serpents, see Brady, nos. 370-376. Sarapis, as well as Isis, appears as a cobra with hood distended. Cf. also section on "Schlangengöttin" in W. Weber, *Terrakotten*, pp. 42-47, and fig. 23.

²⁸ The only exceptions known to us, i. e., where the right hand touches the thigh, are Reinach, *Rep. stat.*, vol. I, p. 448, no. 2; and vol. III, p. 142, no. 2.

show some marble missing from the chest just where the right forearm ought to lie on or near it. Evidently Heydemann did not check his final draft with a photograph or with the original.

The pose of the figure as a whole is "statuesque," and it forms an addition to the foot which, as we have seen, was not knit into the design of the whole. Is the Harpokrates really a small copy of some famous statue? The tree-stump is certainly not just an accessory unnecessary and absent in a bronze original, here imported to fit the necessities of a version in marble; instead the tree-stump here, as also (we feel sure) in the Praxitelean Hermes, is a necessity to the composition, a firm support which permits the figure, though holding a weighty object on the left arm, to be languid. The pose of the present figure descends of course from that invented by Praxiteles.

In over-all length this is the largest of the Sarapis feet, but without the addition of Harpokrates' base, the length would be the same as that of the foot in Athens, No. 2. As to the date, there is no evidence except of the style of the sculpture, which appears to be compatible with a date in the second century after Christ. Duetschke reports that the marble is "Greek," but it seems doubtful whether that is an argument against, e. g., an Alexandrian origin; certainly it has no affinities of style with No. 2.

SUMMARY. All are right feet, but the absolute similarities end there: no fixed type existed, and probably no one famous prototype, such as Bryaxis' statue was in relation to all other statues of Sarapis. All are large feet: there are two principal sizes, one size slightly larger than nature (Nos. 1, 3, 4), the other size twice nature or larger (Nos. 2 and 5); but intermediate sizes would hardly be precluded. Four feet are sandalled, one (No. 4) is not. Three feet are surmounted by busts of Sarapis (Nos. 1, 2, 4), one foot by a copy of Bryaxis' whole figure (No. 3); one foot is cut off flat at the top (No. 5). The Bryaxis type, which was standard generally, was followed in the heads (Nos. 1, 4, 5). Harpokrates seems to have had his finger to his lips, and a cornucopia on the left arm (Nos. 1, 2, 5), as usual, but as in Egyptian terracottas²⁹ (and doubtless in their prototypes also) his age varies. Apart from the one unshod foot, all the feet have one serpent (Nos. 1 and ? 3) or two (Nos. 2 and 5), regularly of the cobra species (except one in No. 5); at least one serpent regularly faces forward (Nos. 1, 3, 5; No. 2 is to be so restored). In the arrangement of the serpent or serpents, the craftsman was offered his only chance to display ingenuity in design. Judged by this criterion, No. 1 is superior to the rest; its technique too is the boldest. No. 2, amongst the feet which have serpents, is the meanest, the reliefs being uniquely low, and the serpent small; No. 2 is set apart also by the breadth and general ugliness of the foot itself.

²⁹ C. M. Kaufmann, *Aeg. Terra.*, p. 46.

Sure criteria for dating are not numerous, but we have seen that No. 1 is almost certainly Antonine, and the others also may well be of that period, except that No. 4 appears to be Flavian. Feet of Sarapis appear on coins in the Antonine period—but that, along with dedicatory feet not positively attested as being associated with Sarapis, and along with other secondary evidence, is matter for another study.

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FRIEDA S. UPSON

THE COMNENIAN PORTRAITS IN THE BARBERINI PSALTER

It is a rather surprising fact that the imperial portraits in the miniature on the recto of the first folio of the Vatican Psalter (Barb. gr. 372) have remained unidentified for so many years (Fig. 1). It is a full-page miniature in the upper half of which Christ as Pantocrator is enthroned in a half-mandorla. He holds a stemma, the imperial crown with jewelled pendants, in His right hand and extends it in the direction of the emperor below. In the lower register three royal personages,—a bearded emperor, a young beardless prince, and an empress,—wearing their crowns and their ceremonial costumes stand on low cushioned platforms. Above the head of each is the half figure of an angel touching with his right hand the crown of the person below him. The angel at the left touching the crown of the emperor points with his left hand to the Christ who extends the stemma towards the emperor as the symbol, presumably, of his divine authority. The angel touching the empress' crown balances the one at the left and holds a wand in his left hand. The young prince seems to be receiving special attention from heaven, for the angel touching his crown is flying down towards him directly from the throne of Christ. Both the emperor and the prince hold the labarum in their right hand, the emperor holding the mappa and the prince a jewel-studded book in the left hand. All three of the figures are nimbed. The concluding portion of a dedicatory poem runs around the four sides of the miniature, the order of the lines being indicated by the letters α , β , γ , δ .

The miniature, then, would seem to represent not only the glorification of an imperial family, but also to emphasize the coronation ceremony and particularly the ceremony in which the young prince was being associated as co-emperor with his father. This seems sufficiently clear from the central position of the prince, his stemma-crown (worn only by imperial personages), his regalia, and the special attention he is receiving from the angel. Furthermore in the Book of Ceremonies written by the emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus, the author, in describing the ceremony in which the young Leo was designated Caesar, states that the prince stood at the emperor's left.¹ In the Barberini miniature the prince also stands at the emperor's left. In the same Book of Ceremonies many of the details of the coronation-ceremonies of the emperor, the empress, and of the child born in the purple room are given. Among these details one finds the many acclamations with which the imperial personage was greeted by the people both during and after the coronation. Some of these acclamations were:

¹ Reiske, *Constantinus Porphyrogenitus*, I (Bonn, 1829), 432, in Niebuhr, *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae*.



Fig. 1. Rome. Bib. Vat. Barb. Gr. 372, Folio 1 Recto.
Alexius Comnenus, John Comnenus, and the Empress Irene

— πολλοὶ ὑμῖν χρόνοι — τῶν σκῆπτρων ἡ εὐτυχία
 — φυλάξει σε εἰς πλήθη χρόνων ἐν τῇ πορφύρᾳ
 — εἰς πολλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς χρόνους — ἀνάτειλον ἡ ἔνθεος βασιλεία.²

Very obviously the writer of the verses surrounding the Barberini miniature had these acclamations in mind when he composed his verses. They read:

οὗς ἡ τριφεγγὴς ἔνθεος μοναρχία
 πολλοῖς φυλάξει καὶ γαληνίοις χρόνοις
 εἰρηνικῇ τὲ καὶ σοφῇ καταστάσει
 διεξάγειν τὰ σκῆπτρα τῆς ἐξουσίας.

The next problem, then, would be to identify the prince whose coronation was being commemorated in the miniature. Lambros³ in his study of the portraits of Byzantine emperors lists this imperial group among the "unknowns" set at the end of his plates. Grabar,⁴ strangely, cites it as an example of conscious anonymity: mais il reste significatif qu'on ait pu le copier en omettant les noms qui accompagnaient nécessairement les originaux et en transformant ainsi une groupe portraitique en une image typique du couronnement où toute allusion à une cérémonie concrète se trouve éliminée! But these names which Grabar believes to have been omitted, apparently because they do not appear on the miniature itself, most probably did appear on the verso of the preceding folio which has since been cut out and lost. This is clear from the fact that the dedicatory inscription which surrounds the miniature is not complete in itself but is the latter portion of a larger inscription begun on the preceding page. The first word, οὗς, of the inscription which remains makes this obvious and also shows that certain persons had been mentioned in the portion now lost.

It was Jerphanion⁵ who first suggested that the three people represented in the miniature might be Alexius I Comnenus, his wife the Empress Irene, and their young son John. That this suggestion is correct and that we have here an important imperial portrait-group commemorating the coronation of the young prince in 1092, as Jerphanion suggested and as I myself had concluded independently before becoming acquainted with Jerphanion's article, I shall attempt to demonstrate in the following observations.

It would be necessary to establish an approximate date for the manuscript before

² *Ibid.*, pp. 195, 196 (cf. 206), 192-193, 222.

³ S. P. Lambros, *Λεξικὸν Βυζαντινῶν Αυτοκρατόρων* (Athens, 1930), plate 97.

⁴ Grabar, *L'empereur dans l'art byzantin* (Paris, 1936), p. 119 (the author confuses the date of this manuscript with another of the year 1177 in the Vatican Library).

⁵ G. de Jerphanion, "Le 'Thorakion' caractéristique iconographique du xi siècle," in *Mélanges Charles Diehl* (Paris, 1930), p. 75.

an identification of the persons in the miniature could be attempted. The Barberini psalter is one of a group of seven known psalters⁶ with marginal illustrations. Its position in the sequence of the development of the whole group is quite certain. The iconography of its illustrations presupposes the existence of both the Chludoff psalter in Moscow and the Theodore psalter in London (Add. 19352). The style, however, and in many cases even the iconography, is so much closer to the latter of these two psalters that the Barberini manuscript is clearly not far removed in time from the Theodore psalter which bears the date of 1066. We might therefore readily assume a date in the latter quarter of the eleventh century or even in the early twelfth century for the Barberini psalter. That date is also indicated by the paleography.

Who, then, is the prince, and who the imperial couple? In the period between 1066, the date of the Theodore psalter, and the end of the eleventh century there is really but one possibility as to who these individuals could be and but one coronation ceremony in which a young prince was associated in power with his emperor-father. Constantine X, it is true, had associated his son Michael with him during his rule, but Constantine died in 1067 one year after the date of the Theodore psalter and the association of Constantine and Michael was earlier. After Constantine came the rule of his wife Eudocia together with her two sons, Michael VII and Constantine. Later Eudocia remarried, and her new husband, Romanus IV Diogenes, ruled from 1067 to 1071. After Romanus' death Michael VII resumed the throne until 1078 when he was dethroned by Nicephorus II Botaniates who remained in power until 1081. Nicephorus Melissenus also claimed the throne in 1081, but the intrigues about the throne were finally brought to an end by the assumption of power by Alexius I Comnenus who established himself and his family on the throne of Byzantium for many years to come. During the earlier portion of Alexius' reign his wife Irene gave birth to a daughter who was to become the famous Anna Comnena. She was at once betrothed to Constantine Ducas, the son of the former emperor Michael VII who was considered as the possible successor of Alexius. Alexius, according to Anna, had apparently made a promise to Constantine's mother, the queen Maria, that Constantine would be given imperial rank. Consequently he was allowed to wear the red shoes and to sign official documents with Alexius.⁷ But in 1088 the empress gave birth to a son, who was baptised John and after four years was crowned and associated in power with his father. That the coronation of John was impatiently awaited by the

⁶ They are: Mt. Athos, Pantocrator no. 60; Paris, Bib. Nat. gr. no. 20; Moscow, His. Mus., Chludoff Psalter; London, Brit. Mus. Add. 40731; London, Brit. Mus. Add. 19352; Rome, Vat. Lib. Barb. gr. 372; Berlin, Kupfers. Kab. Ham. 78 A 9.

⁷ That the association of Constantine with Alexius I prior to the coronation of John was not seriously official would appear from the fact that in contemporary documents such as those in the *Regii Neapolitani Archivi Monumenta*, V, acta 439, 440, 446-448, and 451, Alexius is mentioned as the sole emperor, but in those of 1092 and after (acta 457, 458, 462, 464, 467) John is mentioned as co-emperor with his father.

people desiring to see the male line of the Comnene dynasty perpetuated is indicated by the oration addressed to Alexius I by Theophylactus,⁸ who urged the emperor in flowery language to set his young cub on the throne. This coronation is the first of its particular kind which could be considered as the source for the Barberini miniature. The connection between the event and the miniature is strengthened by the fact that the prince in the miniature is beardless and of smaller size than his parents. It was apparently the custom in Byzantine art to represent a male child of imperial family who had not yet reached maturity as a beardless youth no matter what his age might be.⁹ Since John was only four years of age at the time of his coronation he might quite correctly be identified with the young prince in the miniature. John himself as sole emperor (1118-1143) associated his son Alexius with him as co-emperor, but this did not happen until after John's victory over the Patzinaks in 1122. At that time Alexius was sixteen years old and already considered mature, having been born twelve years before John became sole emperor. A miniature in the Vatican (cod. Vat. Urbin. Gr. 2)¹⁰ commemorates this event. In the miniature Alexius is bearded and represented as a grown-up like his father. Therefore the Barberini miniature cannot refer to this coronation. Alexius never became sole emperor, for he died in 1142 a year before the death of his father John. Manuel, a younger brother, was designated as his successor by the dying emperor. Manuel was about twenty years of age when he became emperor, and, as he was crowned after the death of his father, he is obviously not the prince in the Barberini miniature. He was married twice. His first wife, Bertha of Sulzbach, renamed Irene, bore him only daughters. His second wife, Marie of Antioch, bore a son in 1169 who was associated with his father in 1171 at the age of two. Here again we find a coronation ceremony in which a youthful prince figures. But this too cannot be the coronation represented in the Barberini miniature for various reasons. In the first place the date is too late for the style of the miniature and of the paleography, and in the second place we possess a miniature¹¹ representing Manuel and his queen Marie, and these portraits do not represent the same persons represented in the Barberini miniature. It becomes apparent therefore that the only interpretation of this miniature is that it represents the coronation of John Comnenus in 1092.

It so happens that there are two coins and a seal struck at the time of this coronation which give further support to this identification. One of the coins, a rare gold nomisma now in the British Museum, was first published by Sabatier¹² and later by

⁸ F. Chalandon, *Essai sur le règne d'Alexis I Comnène* (Paris, 1900), pp. 137 ff. Also Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, CXXVI, col. 301.

⁹ See also the portrait of the young Romanus on the ivory in the Cabinet des Médailles, Paris: Goldschmidt-Weitzmann, *Die Byzantinischen Elfenbeinskulpturen*, I, p. 35 and pl. XIV, 34.

¹⁰ C. Stornajolo, *Miniature dell' Omilie di Giacomo e dell' Evangelario Greco Urbinate*, pl. 83.

¹¹ Cod. Vat. Gr. 1176, fol. 11 recto in Lambros, *op. cit.*, pl. 69.

¹² J. Sabatier, *Description général des monnaies byzantines*, II, p. 203, no. 28, and plate 55, 1.



Fig. 2 Venice, Pala d'Oro (detail). The Empress Irene

Wroth¹³ who made the correct identification. The obverse of the coin shows Alexius and Irene standing on either side of a patriarchal cross; on the reverse is the figure of the small beardless John holding the labarum and the globe and being crowned by Christ standing beside him. The seal, erroneously published by Serlin-Dorigny¹⁴ as belonging to the family of John at the time of his sole rule, was correctly identified by Wroth in the light of the coin just cited. On this seal Alexius and Irene are on the one face and the beardless John accompanied by some saint on the other. They are identified by inscriptions.

The portraits of the emperor and the empress in the Barberini miniature correspond sufficiently closely to others of Alexius Comnenus and of Irene which exist. The emperor wears the dome-topped crown and has the long pointed black beard which appear in the portraits of Alexius in the Codex Vaticanus Graecus 666.¹⁵ The empress is almost identical with the figure of Irene present on the pala d'oro at Venice (Fig. 2). Both in the miniature and on the pala d'oro Irene wears the so-called thorakion¹⁶ bearing the device of the cross with double traverse. The thorakion is a conspicuous part of the ceremonial costume of Byzantine empresses from the eleventh century on, but the cross with double traverse is not always present. It is worn by the Empresses Zoë and Theodora on the enamel crown of Constantine Monomachos and by the Empress Irene on the pala d'oro at Venice. It is also worn by the Virgin on a Botkin enamel, by St. Helena in the mosaics of Hosios Loukas, in various Cappadocian frescoes, and on numerous reliquaries of the Holy Cross, and by St. Pulcheria in the eleventh-century frescoes in Sta. Sophia at Kiev.¹⁷ In all these cases the saints wear the costume of contemporary Byzantine empresses of the period in which the representation was made. It is clear why the device of the cross with double traverse should be given to St. Helena the discoverer of the Holy Cross, and also why the mother of Him who died on the cross should wear it. In the case of the Empress Pulcheria, sister of Theodosius II, the device also has significance, for she was called "a new Helena" by the council of Chalcedon in 451. It is not clear, however, why the eleventh-century empresses should wear it unless it be that the device had become an iconographic convention reverting to the contemporary empresses from the costume adopted for St. Helena.¹⁸

¹³ W. Wroth, *Imperial Byzantine Coins in the British Museum*, II, p. 544, no. 24, and plate LXV, 1. For the second coin see F. van Vleuten, *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, VI, 1879, p. 676.

¹⁴ *Révue archéologique*, 1877, pt. I, p. 90, no. II, and plate IV, 6.

¹⁵ Lambros, *op. cit.*, plate 65.

¹⁶ For discussion of this detail of imperial costume and for examples see J. Ebersolt, *Mélanges d'histoire et d'archéologie byzantines* (Paris, 1917), p. 65; Jerphanion, *loc. cit.*, pp. 71 ff., and M. Bárány-Oberschall, *The Crown of the Emperor Constantine Monomachos* (Budapest, 1937), pp. 68-69.

¹⁷ G. Schlumberger, *L'épopée byzantine*, III, p. 45.

¹⁸ The Empress Theodora of iconoclastic fame is represented in the Menologion of Basil II

There are three final details in the Barberini miniature which are worth noting. (1) In the inscription which runs around the four sides of the miniature the word *εἰρηνικῇ* occurs as though intentionally placed at the head of the column immediately beside and above the figure of the empress Irene. (2) The emperor and his son both wear semi-spherical crowns, a type introduced by the Comnenes and having a special



Fig. 3. Palaeologan Ivory Box at Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D. C.

(Courtesy of the Dumbarton Oaks Collection)

use. Anna herself describes it in the third book of the *Alexiad*,¹⁹ chapter iv: "The imperial diadem, or tiara, was like a semi-spherical close-fitting cap, and profusely adorned with pearls and jewels, some inserted and some pendant; on either of the temples two lappets of pearls and jewels hung down on the cheeks. *This diadem is the essentially distinctive feature of the imperial dress.*"²⁰ But the coronets of the

wearing a thorakion with the device of a cross with single traverse. In this case too the device could be explained as a symbol of her militant orthodoxy (see plate 392 in *Il Menologio di Basilio II*, Torino, 1907). St. Catherine also wears the device of the cross with single traverse in the narthex mosaics at Hosios Loukas.

¹⁹ E. A. S. Dawes, *The Alexiad of the Princess Anna Comnena* (London, 1928), p. 78.

²⁰ The italics are mine.

Sebastocrators and Caesars are but sparingly decorated with pearls and jewels, and have no globe.” (3) The young John holds neither the usual mappa nor the globe in his left hand. Instead he holds a book with jewel-studded covers. It would seem therefore that the book had some special significance in this miniature. The most probable explanation for its presence would be the fact that it represents the actual manuscript in which the miniature occurs, and that this psalter was dedicated and presented either to the imperial family or to the young prince himself on the occasion of his coronation as co-emperor with his father. The fragment of the dedicatory inscription about the miniature would seem to point to that conclusion too.

We have, therefore, in this miniature another monument of Byzantine art to which we can attach a sufficiently definite date, a monument which can with certainty be associated with an exceedingly interesting and important event in the history of imperial Byzantium.²¹

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²¹ Interesting as later examples of the same iconography of the triple representation of emperor, empress, and young co-emperor are the two groups on the Palaeologan ivory now in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection, Georgetown, Washington, D. C. (Fig. 3); see J. Strzygowski, in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, VIII, 1899, p. 262, and A. Grabar, *L'empereur dans l'art byzantin* (Paris, 1936), p. 65 and plate VIII.

MORE ABOUT ANCIENT METAL RELIEFS

Miss Richter has called my attention to the mistake in my article "Ancient Metal Reliefs," *Hesperia*, XII, 1943, p. 97, of referring to her and to Miss Milne the discovery "that the repoussé technique was invented by Pheidias and Polykleitos in the fifth century B.C." Their papers claimed merely that Pheidias and Polykleitos had "enlarged the possibilities of the art of embossing."¹ Pliny's statements, *Phidias . . . primusque artem toreuticen aperuisse atque demonstrasse merito iudicatur*, and *Polyclitus . . . iudicatur et erudisse ut Phidias aperuisse*, they translate, "Pheidias is deservedly considered to have opened up and shown the possibilities of the toreutic art," and "Polykleitos is considered to have perfected the toreutic art which Pheidias opened up."

I am sincerely sorry to have attributed to others a view which, it now develops, is my own. Except for my unguarded use of the word invent without some qualifying adjective or adverb or at least a question mark, exclamation point, or quotation marks, the statement which I made, in my opinion, is correct and is based on good evidence. I must, however, expand this thesis, since I may not call it a fact previously established by Miss Richter and Miss Milne.

The distinction between the techniques for making relief, hammered, repoussé and cast, is old. Blümner carefully differentiated them, calling the first two *Treiben über cinem Modell* (with subdivisions) and *Treiben aus freier Hand*.² He did not give any dates for the period of use of the various techniques, and this I attempted several years ago to do. My results are embodied in the article in *Hesperia*.

Of a repoussé relief, one made entirely free hand, the distinguishing characteristics are: thin fabric, close correspondence of back to front, and undercutting. Hunting for these characteristics on metal reliefs, I have not found them except on pieces which must on stylistic or other grounds be dated after the middle of the fifth century B.C. The method is empirical, and it may have failed. The material for study is limited, that at my command more limited still. The tests, moreover, are not conclusive. Any repoussé may lack the undercutting. Many do lack it. But the fact that no early relief has this feature, which is inherent in the technique, makes me think that the dividing line comes at about the middle of the century. Apparently all earlier reliefs were made by hammering over, into, or between forms of hard material.³ The

¹ G. M. A. Richter, "A Greek Silver Phiale in the Metropolitan Museum," *A.J.A.*, XLV, 1941, pp. 363-389; M. J. Milne, "The Use of ΤΟΡΕΥΩ and Related Words," *ibid.*, pp. 390-397.

² H. Blümner, *Technologie und Terminologie der Gewerbe und Künste bei Griechen und Römern*, IV, pp. 237 ff.

³ I do not insist that there was a complete matrix for every relief object made before this time. Probably each worker had a series of matrices for the decorative elements. The very large relief

word repoussé is used for earlier works by some archaeologists, but in most cases, I think, merely to signify embossed reliefs. As far as I can judge, few if any apply this term to an early relief meaning that it was made altogether free hand, with no mechanical aid whatsoever.⁴ This is the sense in which I am using the word repoussé, Blümner's *Treiben aus freier Hand*. If there are cases of this at an earlier date I hope they will be reported.

My researches had reached this point when Miss Richter and Miss Milne published their work on the silver bowl in the Metropolitan Museum. This bowl was hammered into a matrix. Miss Richter differentiates the three techniques, hammering, repoussé, and casting, all in use in the latter part of the fifth century; she mentions the sudden up-swing, qualitative and quantitative, in metal embossing in the latter part of the century; and she contrasts these new reliefs with their differentiated surface with the archaic ones worked in large, simplified planes; she says that the change accompanied a much more developed technique; and that the leading artists of the time, Pheidias and Polykleitos, pointed the way for this improvement. She connects this improvement with the statement by Pliny, which I quoted above, attributing great technical progress in metal embossing to Pheidias first, Polykleitos second. Miss Milne follows the article with a discussion of the word *τορεύω* and related words, which she finds usually apply to gold and silver embossed reliefs.

I thought that Miss Richter believed, as I do, that the more developed technique with which Pheidias and Polykleitos labored was that of repoussé, and that this was a new technique. For the contrast in effects between the earlier and later pieces is exactly what would happen upon the introduction of the free-hand technique. Give an artist a chance to work a soft, thin, sheet of metal back and forth, in and out, and he will create something plastic with differentiated planes. If he has to continue merely to carve matrices in solid material he will not do this. The new technique fits the style of the period, but the style can find its fruition only when the medium can be used adequately. Probably all artists of the late fifth century wanted to create something as plastic as these new bronzes; but few sculptors and no gem-cutter succeeded.

Once the new technique was developed, its results could be copied in the other technique—the technique of the matrix, so useful for commercial reproduction. The silver bowl in the Metropolitan Museum was hammered, but it looks so much like

surfaces of some early works may have been raised by bending over something as simple as the anvil, or the corner of the work bench, or a series of large and small rods. On these great plain surfaces all detail was rendered by cold tooling, really by incising. The small, delicate and oft repeated of the early works must have had complete matrices, e. g., the early Corinthian mirror handles, H. Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, p. 224.

⁴ I myself used the term "pseudo-repoussé" in *Studi Etruschi*, XII, 1938, pp. 271 ff., referring to a relief (not of early date) which was made in a matrix but looks like repoussé. In the same article I used repoussé of embossed work generally. I do not commend this terminology.

repoussé that it at first deceived Miss Richter's practiced eye.⁵ But the improvement must have been made with the new technique, then copied in the older.⁶ Similarly, a century earlier the invention of the red-figured technique of vase painting led to a sudden improvement in the naturalness of drawing. But black-figured vases continued to be made, and artists copied in black-figure as well as they could the new drawing which the new technique had made possible.

I accept Miss Richter's and Miss Milne's translation of Pliny's statement, "Polykleitos is considered to have perfected the toreutic art which Pheidias opened up." I take their warning, and resist the temptation, the very great temptation, to translate, "Polykleitos is considered to have perfected the repoussé technique which Pheidias had invented." But how does one open up new possibilities in an age-old craft except by the discovery of some new technical process? And the great, the all important, new technique of the age of Pheidias and Polykleitos was the repoussé technique. It is with this technique that the names of the great artists must be linked.

That Pheidias invented repoussé and Polykleitos developed it, is certainly what Pliny meant. But it is not precisely what he said. Therefore, and since the assignation of inventions to famous artists is frequently a mistake, when we credit them personally we should do so with reservations, many reservations. On p. 102 of my article I put *inventor* within quotation marks, quoting, as it now appears, nobody but myself, but thereby expressing my doubts of its exactitude. To the crime of omitting quotation marks on p. 97, as well as to that of attributing my ideas to Miss Richter and Miss Milne, I humbly plead guilty.

DOROTHY KENT HILL

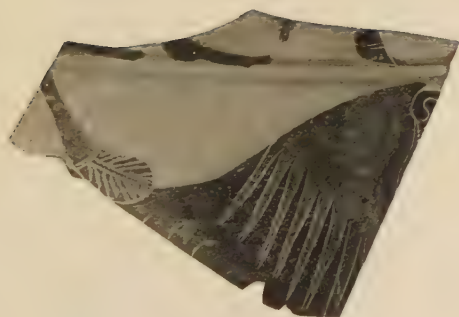
THE WALTERS ART GALLERY

⁵ *B.M.M.A.*, XXV, 1940, p. 8.

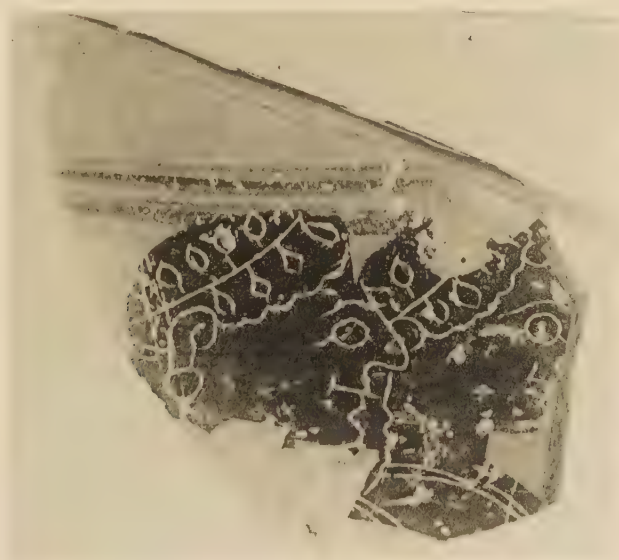
⁶ There were, admittedly, other technical advances. If the model for the silver bowl was of iron, as Miss Richter suggests, *loc. cit.*, p. 376, this was a distinct improvement, but not as important an improvement as the invention of repoussé.



1. From the Dinos Louvre E 874



2. Fragment of a Stand, Athens Acr. 476



3. Fragment in Brussels

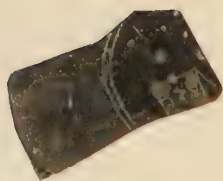
PLATE II



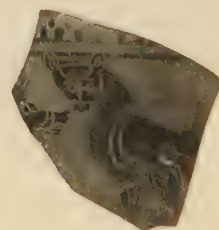
1. Amphoriskos in Bonn, inv. 395



2. Fragment in London



3. Fragment in Athens, Acr.



4. Fragment in Athens, Acr. 2212



Skyphos in Athens, 907

PLATE IV



Chalice in the Vlasto Collection

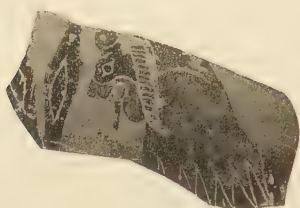


1. Lidded Lekane in Athens, 296

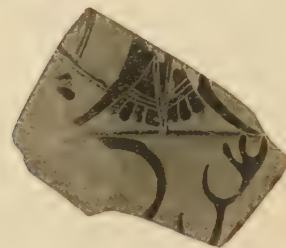
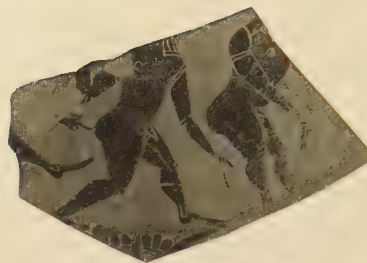


2. Skyphos in Athens, 528

PLATE VI



1. Fragment in Athens, Acr.



2. Fragments in Athens, Acr. 609

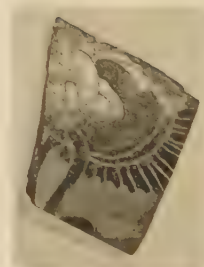
3-4. Cup Fragments in Athens, Acr. 1444 and 1445



5. Cup Formerly in the Paris Market



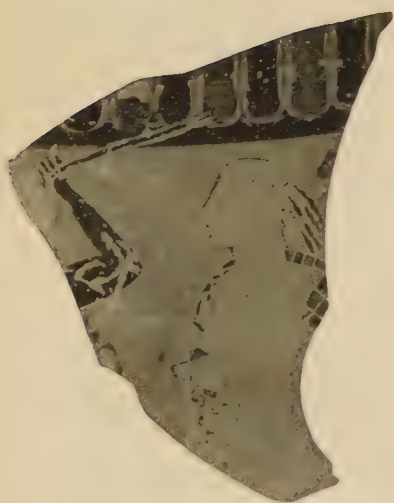
6. Cup Fragment in Falmouth



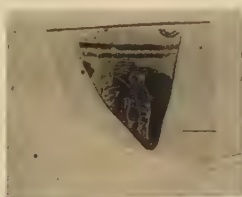
7. Fragment in Reading, University



1. Tripod-Kothon in Boston, F-560



2. Fragment in Athens, Acr. 586



3-4. Marburg Fragments of the Hydria Plate VIII, 1

PLATE VIII



1. Hydria Formerly in the Paris Market



2. Aryballos in the Vlasto Collection



3. Aryballos in London, 1930. 12-17.1

COLOPHON

Southward from Smyrna a gap in the hills that fringe the gulf opens to the great plain watered by the Taçtali çay, the ancient river Astes. Thirty kilometers farther south, where foothills of the ridge of the Sivridağ form the boundary of the plain, lay the Ionian city of Colophon. In the fourth century B.C. its circuit walls linked three hilltops, approximately a kilometer apart, forming roughly an equilateral triangle, with apex at the north (Figs. 1 and 3). By the northwest side runs the mill stream which gives its name to the shady modern village of Degirmendere. A second stream, the Kabakli-dere, rising to the south, flows through the center of the triangle and out at the northeast side. Both streams, reaching the great plain, join the Taçtali çay and turn southwestward through the mountains to the sea near the ancient cities of Lebedos and Teos.

A road from Degirmendere through the ancient city site cutting the Kabakli-dere at right angles, leads to the modern town of Traça, not far beyond the south side of the enclosed area. Though this road seems level, it actually crosses a watershed, and from Traça another stream, the ancient Ales, flows toward the southeast to reach, in thirteen kilometers, the coast at Notion, seaport of Colophon. Beside it ran the ancient highway. Nearly due eastward some thirty-five kilometers of another nearly level road lead from Colophon to Ephesos.

The site of Colophon, well watered and protected by its three hills, had much to recommend it. It controlled not only wide stretches of fertile land, excellent for horse raising, but also the important highway from its colony Smyrna to Notion. On the other hand, its distance from salt water was a little too great and the harbor of Notion too unimportant for it to play a maritime role of any consequence. And as in the Aegean world fame was largely sea-bred, Colophon was noted only for its wealth and luxurious life and for its cavalry.

Indeed the brevity of its annals¹ reflects its fortune. The tradition of the early non-Carian settlement of the region² is supported by the remains of a beehive tomb, rifled but still containing Creto-Mycenaean potsherds.³ We are told that later it bore unwillingly the Lydian yoke, more complacently that of the Persians, and that having finally regained independence, with Alexander's conquest of 334, it devotedly sup-

¹ See the excellent historical note by J. G. Milne, *Kolophon and Its Coinage*, *Numismatic Notes and Monographs*, No. 96 (1941), pp. 2-10.

² Pausanias, VII, 3.

³ Excavated by Dr. Goldman in 1922; to be published with a report on other graves at Colophon.

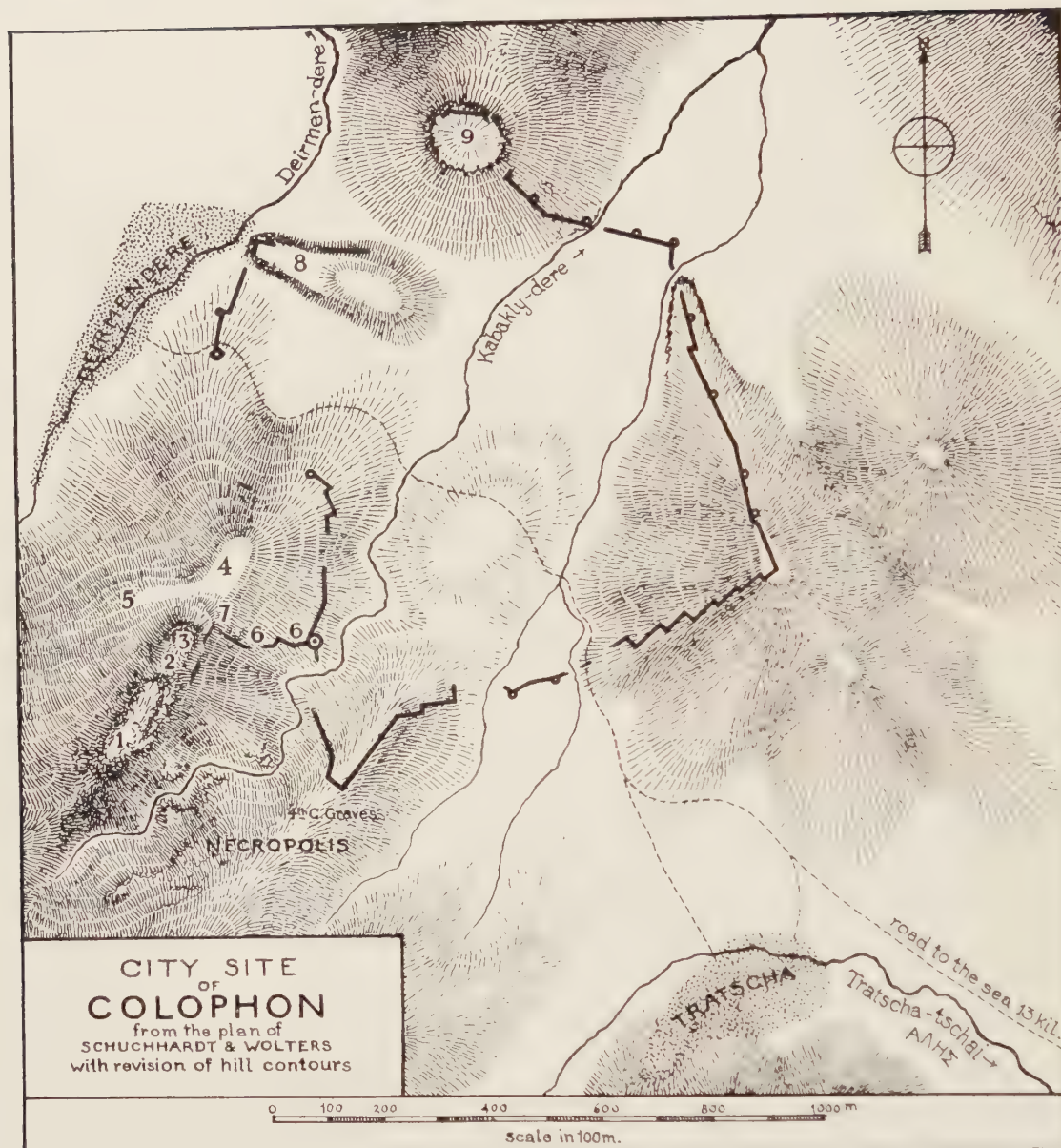


Fig. 1. Site of Colophon

ported his heir Antigonos against Lysimachos, by whose general Prepelaos it was taken in 302.⁴ Following this disaster the inhabitants were transferred to populate, with those of ruined Lebedos, the new Ephesian suburb of Arsinoë, built by Lysimachos.⁵ This terminal event is perhaps the best known in the history of Colophon, but doubt is thrown on the completeness of the finale by an inscription from Magnesia dating from later in the third century,⁶ which mentions Κολοφώνιοι οἱ τὴν ἀρχαίαν πόλιν οἰκοῦντες as well as Κολοφώνιοι ἀπὸ θαλάσσης. Probably some Colophonians remained on the ancient site while others migrated to Notion in such numbers that the seaport became known as New Colophon. Those taken to Ephesos seem to have lost the name of Colophonians altogether.

It could hardly be expected that so favorable a location would remain deserted for long. Certainly clusters of dwellings, like the modern villages of Değirmendere and Traça, would appear within two generations, even after total abandonment of the ancient city, but that official commemorations should be set up in such minor settlements seems unlikely. What seems more probable is that certain sanctuaries, important while the city flourished, continued with diminishing reputation to keep alive the name of the dead city of Colophon.⁷

After several false identifications the city site was found by Schuchhardt, Kiepert, and Wolters in 1886 (Fig. 1).⁸ Their brief survey traces out the circuit walls, built of hard blue-grey limestone (Fig. 2), cut and laid for the most part like those of Lysimachos at Ephesos. A dozen towers were located, mostly round in plan. Within the walls numerous terraces and foundations, but no standing superstructures, were seen.

On the basis of this report, the Fogg Art Museum of Harvard College in collaboration with the American School of Classical Studies at Athens planned an extended campaign of excavation. In the spring of 1922, from late April to late June, the first expedition, directed by Dr. Hetty Goldman and Dr. Carl Blegen, attacked the site. As this campaign was primarily exploratory, trials were made in many scattered places, where building stones appeared, in the valley and on the acropolis hill, and three cemeteries were investigated. Since Schuchhardt's report was seen to be in general correct, no attempt was made to analyse the city walls or plot their lines, and indeed far more new structures were uncovered than could be surveyed in two months. Careful recording and study were planned for future campaigns.

The specific results of this expedition were: first, determination by the coins found that the site was indeed that of Colophon, a very large majority being from

⁴ Diodorus, XX, 107.

⁵ Pausanias, I, 9, 7. In 286 B.C. (?), *C.A.H.*, Vol. VII, p. 91.

⁶ Kern, *Inscr. von Magnesia*, no. 53, lines 75-79.

⁷ According to Meritt, *A.J.P.*, LVI, 1935, p. 381, one of the inscriptions (no. VI) found in the Metroön may have been set up after 281 B.C.

⁸ *Ath. Mitt.*, XI, 1886, pp. 398 ff.

Colophonian mints; second, that it was inhabited from prehistoric through classic times, cemeteries of the Mycenaean, Geometric, and Hellenistic periods being identified; third, that on the acropolis, at least, there was no habitation after the fourth century, practically all the coins found there being of that period, though a few coins of Antiochus II (261-246) found in the Metroön, and an inscription which may be of similar date, indicate that the sanctuary continued its functions to the third century.

The unsettled state of the country preceding the expulsion of the Greek forces from Anatolia in the summer of 1922 brought the campaign to a hurried close; and



Fig. 2. Exterior of Southernmost Angle of Fortification Wall, on Hilltop East of Kabakli-dere Ravine, Looking Northeast. From the Valley at the Right the Walls Mount to the First Hill Beyond, on Which, Near the Right Edge of the Picture, is the Eastern Angle of the City Enclosure. Thence the Walls Descend Northward toward the Left, along the Visible Crest

subsequent conditions prevented continuation of the full excavations which had been planned for succeeding years.

The coins in transit to the Istanbul Museum, where they now are, were taken to Athens and studied there, but all the pottery and other minor finds left in Degirmendere, unphotographed in the hasty departure, were lost. During September of 1925 the scholarly interest of the Turkish authorities made possible a second short visit to the site under the direction of Dr. Goldman, at which time the Metroön and the bathing establishment, discovered in the first campaign, were more fully excavated and measured,⁹ and a few more graves explored. Since then, hope of further investigation

⁹ Surveys of these two sections were made by Miss D. H. Cox, from which they have been drawn on Pl. IX.

has gradually faded and now it has seemed wise to compile from the aging records of excavation notebooks and photographs, where actual surveys are lacking, a preliminary and at the same time final report of the incomplete results of the first expedition, leaving unsettled many questions which only further study and re-examination on the ground could resolve. The compiler of this report, occupied throughout the campaign with general surveying rather than with studying the remains, has tried to piece together and to include all significant items that could be gleaned from the notes of other members of the expedition. Obscure statements and absence of desired details have often been unavoidable, for missing information could not be supplied. An account by Dr. Meritt of the inscriptions found has already appeared;¹⁰ the cemeteries must wait for later publication, and so for a time must the Metroön and Baths.

The valley (Figs. 1, 3) within the wide triangle of the city's fortifications revealed on superficial exploration traces of a number of large buildings, the location of none of which was recorded with sufficient accuracy for them to be placed on Fig. 1. Nearest Degirmendere, on a hillock west of the road running thence to Traça, was a structure of Roman date—as indicated by the presence of mortar—apparently made of re-used Greek blocks, and just to the east of the hill a large Roman building which, from the depression within its walls, suggested an Odeum. A little way to the south were remains which may have been Greek.

Eastward, shortly before crossing the Kabakli-dere, not far from the center of the city triangle, the Traça road cuts, near its northeast corner, a structure one side of which runs in a straight line for about 115 meters. Trenches in three locations here revealed parallel walls, about one meter thick and six meters apart, enclosing a great rectangle. The outer and inner walls were faced on the outside with coursed limestone blocks (Fig. 4), roughly bulging between jointing lines, like the coursed masonry of the city walls (Fig. 2), though less carefully jointed. The inner faces were unworked stones (Fig. 5). Both walls went down to stereo, on an average a meter and half below the existing grade. No floor level was found between the walls but only an unstratified fill containing many sherds, including geometric, red-figured, and fine thin black-glazed ware. No remains of the superstructure were found, nor of earlier structures on the site, barring a possible cobblestone pavement about a meter below grade at the eastern end near the Traça road, and a few uncertain scraps of wall at the west. In the absence of coins for dating one can only say on the basis of the pottery, that the structure was not built before the fourth century, and on the basis of the stone work, that it may have been contemporary with the surrounding city walls.

In the adjoining field north of the road, another rectangular structure was investigated. In only a few places did the walls—about 0.80 m. thick—appear finished

¹⁰ *A.J.P.*, LVI, 1935, pp. 358-397. For supplementary commentary see L. Robert, *Rev. de Phil.*, X, 1936, pp. 158 ff.

as if to show above ground. Here also the face was of coursed limestone blocks with rounded faces like the masonry of the peribolos just mentioned (Fig. 6). Stereo was found to be only 0.40 m. below the existing grade. From east to west the north wall measured some 20 meters. The east wall was traced 19 meters to the south, the west wall 10 meters farther. Several short ends of interior walls, a few meters long, were found, but not enough was uncovered to explain the arrangement. No elements of the superstructure came to light, nor any floor, though a length of stone drain and the bottom of a large pithos about 0.10 m. above stereo seemed to mark a floor level either of this building or of some earlier one.



Fig. 3. View from Ledge of Rock between Peak of Acropolis and Main Terrace, Looking North. The Nearest Hill to the Right of Center (9) Forms Northern Apex of City Triangle. In the Heavy Grove of Poplars at the Left Lie the Stream and Village of Degirmendere

A third structure was located still farther to the north, where a line of wall 26 meters long from north to south showed above ground. Five small trenches were opened which revealed this as the west wall of a rectangular building. It was traced for 33 meters from the northern corner, and the north wall for 16 meters; the end of neither one was reached. Internal walls ran parallel to the north wall at distances, on centers, of 16 m. and 28.50 m. from it. All these walls were of rubble 0.75 m. thick, finished in places on the exterior with coursed limestone blocks like those of the previously mentioned structures. A row of slabs 0.25 m. thick, set on edge, paralleled the northern internal wall 2 m. to the north of it. This row was uncovered



Fig. 4. Foundations of Peribolos in Valley, Showing Outer Face of Inner (West) Wall. Trees Just Beyond Mark Course of Kabakli-dere



Fig. 5. Foundations of Peribolos in Valley, Showing Inner Face of Outer (East) Wall

for a length of 2 meters, starting 0.60 m. from the west wall. Stereo was found about 0.75 m. below grade. Again no elements of the superstructure were found, nor any floor, and it may be doubted if any of the existing remains lay above the classic grade level.

These three buildings, of a size more suitable for public than for private structures, would seem to indicate that the heart of the municipality was near by. The shallowness of the soil is responsible for the disappointing scantiness of the remains, and the narrowness of the walls may explain why fragments of columns and en-



Fig. 6. Foundations of Smaller Rectangle in Valley. Outer Face of North Wall

tablatures were not found. Yet a series of large public buildings without any use of orders is not what one would normally expect in an important Greek city. Possibly these structures were the "market place, workshops, and all other necessary [rather than decorative] public buildings" referred to in an inscription authorizing the building of the city walls.¹¹ There can be no doubt, in any case, that the stonework is Greek, and from its appearance one would place it in the late fourth century, though without the supporting evidence of coins and sherds this cannot be stated with certainty.

Of the three hills which form the apices of the city, that to the southwest was the acropolis (Figs. 1, 7, 8). In shape it is a long ridge stretching a little east of north from the high mass of the Sivridağ, which rises to a peak 896 meters above the sea. The highest point of the acropolis (1 in Fig. 7), some 200 m. above the plain,

¹¹ See below, p. 170.



Fig. 7: Panoramic View of Eastern Side of Acropolis from Hill East of Kabakli-dere;
to Left, (1) Summit of Acropolis and Second Terrace; to Right, Second
Terrace (3) and Third Terrace (4)

is separated from the hill behind by a sharp declivity perhaps twenty meters deep. From the peak a bare strip, little more than seven meters wide, at the narrowest, of rock fissured by progressive fragmentation, slopes gently northward for some fifty meters to a saddle (2), rounding evenly to the eastern and western flanks of the acropolis. This continues nearly level for some twenty-five meters more to a second outcropping crag (3), from which the hill spreads cone-wise down to east and west and more gently toward the north. Fifty meters lower still the northern slope becomes a level terrace (4), fifty meters wide by slightly over one hundred meters from south to north. A side extension of this terrace, twenty meters wide, runs like a shelf nearly



Fig. 8. West Side of Acropolis from Camp Site. Poplar Trees (5) to Left of Center Mark Western End of West Terrace. Compare Fig. 26

due west along the flank of the hill for a hundred and twenty meters or so until it merges with the even westerly gradient from the peak of the acropolis (5). Ten meters below the level of the main northern terrace another narrower shelf runs along the steeper eastern slope (Fig. 7, 7) and below these three flat areas more gradual declivities stretch north and northeast to the lower city, and east and west to the courses of the Kabakli-dere running through the city's heart and the Degirmendere which skirted its western wall.

The wall which made the acropolis a stronghold independent of the main city ran from the summit along the east side of the highest ridge as far as the saddle, whence it descended in a broken line nearly to the Kabakli-dere (6). From this point Schuchhardt and others traced it on a level course halfway round the hill, but could not locate it on the northern and western sides. While making no effort to plot the fortifications, the American expeditions did find a wall upholding the western terrace which may have formed part of the acropolis ring.

Within this ring we may suppose the area to have been filled as solidly with buildings and streets and public places as the topography would permit, whereas the extent of the lower city is so great that much of the area must always have remained unoccupied. For this reason, except for the cemeteries and trial trenches at the three above-mentioned sites in the lower town, digging was confined to the acropolis. Unfortunately the geologic formation of the hill was such that preservation of remains was extraordinarily bad. On the main peak (1) and the lower outcrop (3) of rock



Fig. 9. Acropolis from Necropolis Hill, Looking Northwest

nothing remained, if indeed anything had ever been built there. On the saddle (2) between the two a trench four meters wide by thirty long showed scarce a half meter of earth above the rock.¹² In it were found the bottoms of many walls, which to judge from their width and the spaces enclosed—three or four meters on the average—must have been house walls; in the trench were also found fragments of cobblestone paving, a section of tile drain above which a wall had been built indicating a change in plan, many pieces of roof tile, broken pithoi and fragments of smaller pottery, terracotta figurines, etc., bits of lead, part of a hand millstone, and three bronze coins of the fourth century B.C.¹³ Lacking earth to cover it, all superstructure had slid off the saddle to one side or the other. And as the fragmentary foundations that are left

¹² Not located with sufficient accuracy to be shown on the plan, but roughly 50 m. below lower left-hand limit of Pl. IX.

¹³ J. G. Milne, *Kolophon and Its Coinage*, *Numismatic Notes and Monographs*, No. 96 (1941), Pl. VII, 126, 128, Period V, ca. 330-ca. 285 B.C.

show diverse rebuildings, it is questionable if more extensive digging and more intensive study could reveal intelligible plans. All that can be said is that this high area was closely settled for a considerable period during the fourth century, while evidence of inhabitation either later or earlier was not found.

From the saddle and the second ledge of rock the ground falls away rapidly; most steeply to the east, least steeply on the ridge which spreads finally into the northern terrace. But everywhere the grade is such that building could only be made possible by heavy retaining walls, providing a series of stepped terraces from fifteen to twenty-five meters wide. The inevitable result of rain and earthquakes through many centuries has been to smooth these steps into continuous slopes. The top of each terrace wall and what stood upon it has been eventually tipped outward and scattered in confusion down the hill. On the other hand the shelter of the terrace walls has preserved what stood close below them for a height of a meter or two, buried often by the collapsed wall itself and debris from above. And at all periods, as well when the city was flourishing as in its long disintegration, the upper ledges of the acropolis have loosed from time to time great boulders to plow a path of wreckage through walls and terraces. The multiple rebuildings, indicated by the varying techniques of sections of the retaining walls, may have been due more often to enforced repairs than to intended changes.

But the wide level terrace (4) which prolongs the ridge well to the north on the lower part of the hill is, for most of its extent, beyond the reach of landslides; here digging was commenced with the promise of well-preserved remains. It was quickly seen, however, that in the center of the area the surface of the modern plowed field was only a few centimeters above bed rock, and that while the earth was deeper along the shoulders of the terrace where foundation walls had allowed it somewhat to collect, there was rarely more than a meter of it, and even at the southwest angle where deposits from the upper slopes collected most heavily, stereo lay but a meter and a half below the undug surface. It appeared that the center of the terrace had not been built upon at all, but had remained an open plateia (Pl. IX) flanked on the north and west by an impressive stoa filled with shops or public offices, and perhaps by similar structures at the foot of the upgrade at the south. Little investigation was conducted on the southern boundary or on the eastern side where no remains save terrace walls were to be seen. The stoa was excavated in two sections. That at the south half of the west flank was wholly uncovered, and surveyed in connection with the houses at the east end of the west terraces. That at the north of the plateia was not surveyed, but was carefully recorded—together with the houses on the northern front of the terraces—in the daily entries in Dr. Blegen's notebook. Preliminary measuring stakes, which show clearly in several photographs, give certainty as to the relation of these two sections to each other.

THE STOA (VII)

NORTH WING (VII *c-l*)

While the stoa was unified in conception and probably was all built within a short stretch of years, it was not all built at one time. The northern wing (Pl. IX and Fig. 10) shows two distinct sections. The western section consists of a portico about 5.70 m. deep behind which were five rooms 6.15 meters deep and in width from east to west approximately 4.65 m., 4.75 m., 5.70 m. (Fig. 10, VII *i*, VII *h*, VII *g*) with a final space of 11.40 m. which probably comprised two rooms of 5.20 m. and 4.65 m. (VII *f*, VII *e*) corresponding to the divisions of the western wing of the stoa. The eastern section comprised a large room (VII *l*) about 10.35 m. deep by 12.80 m. wide with a foundation about 1.40 m. by 1.50 m. for a central support, echoed by a pilaster against the west wall and presumably by a similar one on the undug east wall. This large room was flanked by two smaller rooms (VII *k*, VII *j*) respectively about 3.85 m. and 5.70 m. deep by about 5.25 m. and 7.20 m. wide, with a portico across the whole front continuing that in front of the western section. The wall between the eastern and western sections is double, with a combined width of 1.30 m., that to the west being somewhat the thicker (Figs. 10, 11). This, together with the fact that the masonry courses as shown in the north walls are considerably larger in the eastern section than in the western (see Fig. 27), clearly indicates that they are not strictly contemporary. The relative thickness of the party walls points to the western section having been built first. The cause of the sequence of construction is probably a paved street (G) which originally connected the area north of the stoa with the plateia. The cobble paving of this street was found to continue under the stoa, its western edge lying about 0.85 m. west of the dividing line in the party wall, its eastern about 1.40 m. to the east of it. Thus the western section of the stoa could have been built without completely stopping use of the street and the eastern one added when some other line of communication was established. Possibly passage was effected through the second room from the west end of the west section (VII *f*); this area was not excavated, but it would probably have been impossible to determine the matter even if it had been, for the ground level there was considerably below the original level of street and plateia, and these in turn must have been about a meter below the floor of the stoa rooms. Both the east and west ends of the northern wing lie so far beyond the present level part of the terrace that it was not found practicable to excavate them. Small pits served to locate the northeast and northwest corners and the meeting place of the central wall with the eastern wall. The termination of the stoa at those points was clear. But the southeast corner was not investigated and one cannot say whether steps or a terrace wall or some other structure effected the transition at this point between the level of the plateia and the lower slopes to the east.

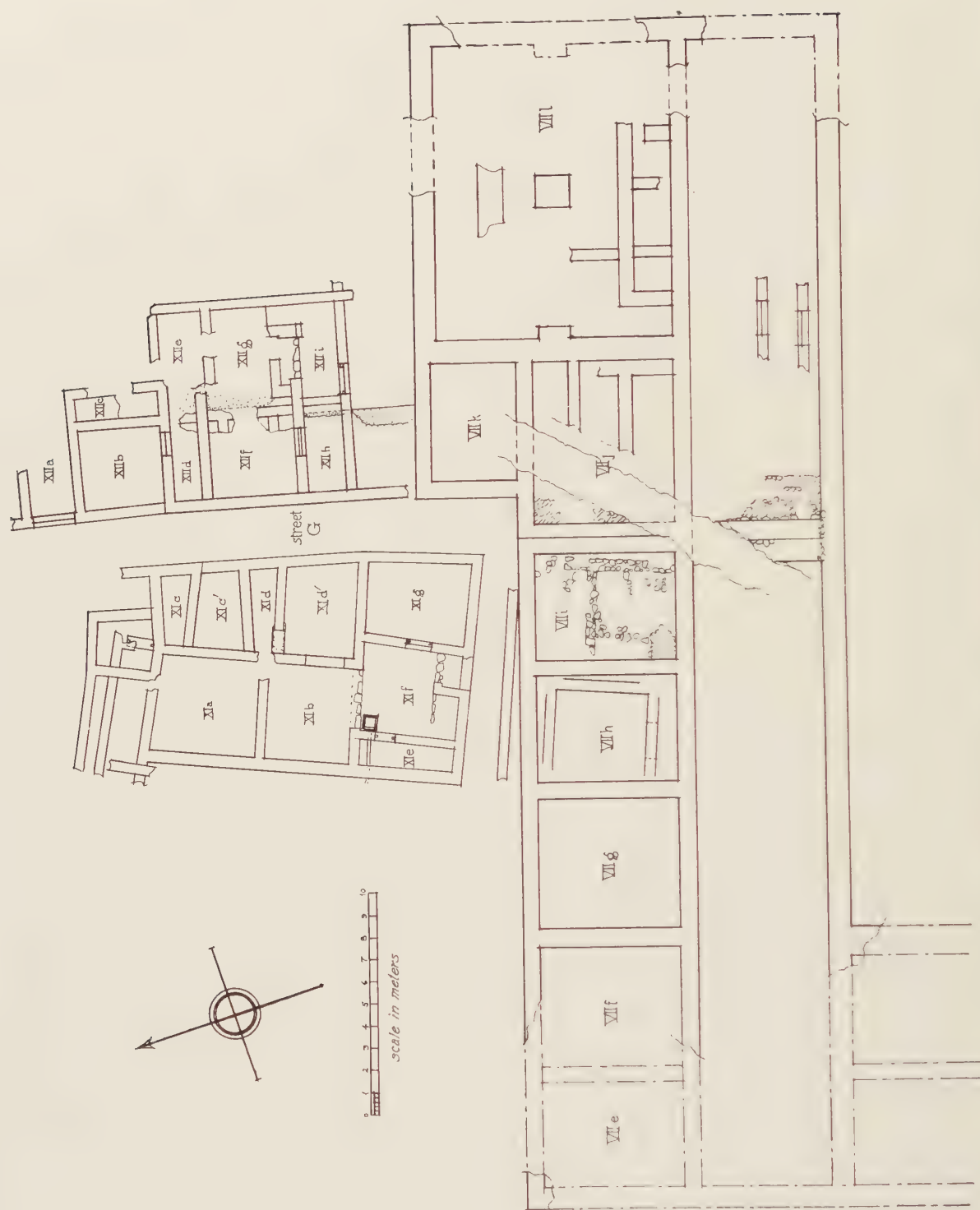


Fig. 10. North Wing of Stoa and Houses on Point. From Notebook Sketches

Within the main walls of the eastern section of the north wing are minor walls (Fig. 10). Two of these,—a transverse wall *ca.* 0.50 m. wide in the northern half of the southwest room (VII *j*), and a short spur 0.65 m. wide projecting into the large east room (VII *l*) from its south wall, 1.35 m. from the west side,—are preserved to the height of the main walls and may belong with them, though since nothing is preserved above the floor level this cannot be certain. Another wall *ca.* 0.50 m. wide,



Fig. 11. Double Party Wall Between East and West Sections of North Wing of Stoa, Looking North, Showing Remains of Paved Street along Base of Wall, with Doorsill at Still Lower Level, at Lower Right Corner of Picture; beyond Doorsill is Interior Wall Preserved to the Height of Main Walls

paralleling the south wall of the large east room (VII *l*), though slightly lower, may also belong to this system, as it seems to join the end of the spur wall in a clean rectangular corner. Another spur, *ca.* 0.80 m. wide, projecting northward into the large room from the south wall, at a distance of 8.70 m. from the west wall, may also belong, as may perhaps other short low north and south sections along the southern wall. But there are still other bits of wall, notably a short section slightly over a meter wide paralleling the northern wall of the large room about two meters to the south of it, and a section *ca.* 0.70 m. wide lying along the west side of the west wall of the large room, which certainly were part of an earlier structure on the site. The width of these fragments indicates that they belonged to a building of considerable size, and the complete agreement with the orientation of the stoa suggests that this east section was merely a replacement of a structure of nearly the same size and

probably the same function, which continued in use for a while after the west section of the stoa was built, and which because of its importance may have set the orientation for the whole revision of the area.

The function of the large room and its dependencies, or of the separate building which preceded it, can only be guessed. It seems rather too important for a commercial structure and too closely linked to the rest of the stoa to be a religious one unless the whole stoa was an adjunct to the neighboring sanctuary. A civic function of some sort seems most probable. But its area is small for a bouleuterion, having hardly more than a third of that of the Ekklesiasterion at Priene or a sixth of the bouleuterion at Miletos. Possibly a clue is given by the finding of three square pieces of lead some seventy-five centimeters below grade in the southwest region of the large room. One of these was 0.07 m. on a side and 0.01 m. thick and bore in relief on one side a lyre with the letter *M* beneath; a second of similar form, though less regular, was stamped with the lyre and two indecipherable symbols in the upper corners; the third, of the same shape, but considerably thicker and heavier, had neither lyre nor letters. A number of similar weights were found elsewhere on the acropolis but always singly. These weights were below the floor level of the later building and probably above that of the earlier one. If they indicate that the official weights and measures of the city were kept in the earlier building, then it and its successor, the east section of the stoa, may have been a prytaneum, and the foundations against the south wall may have been for enclosures in which the official standards were stored.

Beneath the portico of the east section parts of two more walls *ca.* 0.45 m. wide were uncovered, lying parallel to the east-west walls of the stoa and each having a stone doorsill, nearly but not quite in front of one another. It is difficult to see how they could have served simultaneously in a building, and one may therefore suspect that they belong to successive structures or to revisions of a single structure.

Beneath the two eastern rooms of the western section of the north wing of the stoa, foundations of other earlier structures were also found (Fig. 10, VII *h*, VII *i*). These are of rubble 0.40 m.-0.45 m. thick and belong to two adjacent rectangular rooms. Their orientation agrees with that of the walls of a house lying just north of the stoa (XI), though not exactly with that of the structures which lay east of the street across which the stoa was built. Evidently the street broadened somewhat as it approached the plateia. In the southern piece of wall in VII *h* was a large poros threshold block with hinge socket holes 1.11 m. apart on centers. The door opening however had been walled up, indicating a change in plan even before the house was demolished for the building of the stoa.

The front wall of the stoa, on which the columns stood, is 1.00 m. wide, not wide enough to allow for steps below the stylobate. The west and north walls of the large room in the east section are likewise 1.00 m. wide; the end walls of the stoa were probably of the same width, though the tumbled state of the foundations uncovered

forbids certainty. The north wall of the stoa, however, and the central one running from east to west are but 0.75 m. wide, while the north-south divisions between rooms are from 0.65 m. to 0.75 m. wide. The rear wall and doubtless the end walls were faced with limestone blocks in courses of approximately uniform height (Fig. 27), though the length of the blocks varied greatly: the horizontal and vertical joints were cut with care and closely assembled, while between joints the face was dressed in a rough convex bulge. In the eastern section the inner face of the outside wall and all



Fig. 12. Walls of Eastern Room in Western Section of North Wing of Stoa, Looking East Across Room

the interior walls were built of uncoursed rubble; in the western section the lower part of the walls is of similar construction while the upper part, at or slightly below floor level, is made of blocks which have been roughly dressed to rectangular form with approximately flat faces (Fig. 12). These however are laid with such complete disregard for their jointing and in such irregular courses that it can hardly be doubted that they are re-used materials, perhaps originally from the walls of some building which the stoa replaced. If so, they show the style of dressing given to careful masonry at a period prior to that of the stoa. However, since six of the datable coins¹⁴ found within the stoa area are from the first half of the fourth century, the earlier and later constructions cannot be far separated in time.

¹⁴ Milne, Period III, ca. 389-ca. 350 B.C.: *Num. Notes and Mon.*, No. 96, pp. 49 ff.

WEST WING (VII *a-d*)

The wing of the great stoa which bounds the plateia on the west (Pl. IX) was likewise built in sections. This is clearly indicated by the fact that the convexly cut stone work of the rear wall, used only as a visible finish, was returned across the south face of the division wall between the third and fourth chambers, counting from the south (Pl. X, VII *c* and VII *d*), and was carried around to form a finished exterior to the southeast corner of the fourth chamber (VII *d*). Obviously this chamber terminated the stoa when this wall was built. But as there is no similar sign of interrupted construction in the foundations of the wall which bore the colonnade, nor any cross wall linking colonnade to chambers at this point, it would seem that the row of chambers to the north was completed first, the colonnade being added when the three chambers to the south were built. Only one of the chambers of this earlier section,—VII *d*,—was fully excavated. Its internal measurements were 4.50 m. by 5.50 m., the division walls both at front and sides were 0.65 m. thick. Presumably four more chambers lay between this one and the northern wing of the stoa; if so the space would allow an average width of 6.06 m. from north to south, with division walls of 0.65 m. The dimensions would be approximately those of the rooms in the north wing of the stoa, though turned with the long side toward the colonnade (Pl. IX).

The row of five rooms in this western wing, antedating the colonnade, may have been built at the same time as the west section of the north wing. The foundation wall for the colonnade of the north wing is carried at its full width of 1.00 m. at least as far as the central wall of the west wing, but whether it continued thus to the rear wall is not recorded by notebooks or photographs. At the south the north section of the west wing of the stoa was stopped by an older street (F) which entered the plateia diagonally from the northwest (Pl. X), the principal if not indeed the only approach from the valley on the west side of the acropolis. The eventual addition of three rooms to the south involved much rebuilding of the adjacent residential sections on the west terrace; there may have been considerable delay before this final section of the stoa could be undertaken, permitting the colonnade to be built simultaneously all along the west wing to finish with a solid wall across the southern end.

At the south end the grade rises somewhat, and here a stretch of euthynteria laid on stereo has been preserved. This course is made of two faces of re-used poros blocks with a fill of rubble between. On the outer face the blocks are set to an even line and dressed to a level top. In one block are a square dowel hole, a pry hole and a cutting for a hook clamp; another has a similar dowel hole. These cuttings antedate the use of the blocks in the stoa. The stylobate has disappeared. However, there is a fragment of red plaster upon the south wall, close to the east corner (Pl. X. *a*), the bottom of which is 0.28 m. above the euthynteria, while just to the west of the latter stereo reaches nearly the same height. The stylobate therefore can be figured as 0.25-0.30 m.

high. Another scrap of wall plaster (Pl. X, β) still in place in the angle between the south wall and the face of the central wall of the stoa, fixes the floor there as level with the stylobate or a few centimeters higher. The central wall is preserved at its extreme south end for 0.30 m. higher still, but shows no indication of the floor level of the room to the west (VII *a*), nor of any doorsill. However, the door may have been in the center or toward the northern side of the room, where the wall is not preserved above the level of the outer floor; a sill 0.30 m. high would bring the floor level of the room approximately to the highest bit of masonry preserved. Plaster fallen from the south wall in the portico shows three distinct layers. First is a pinkish ground coat about 0.025-0.03 m. thick made of coarse sand, lime and broken pottery; this coat was scored lightly with shallow depressions on the surface, and a second coat of sand and lime about half a centimeter thick was applied. The body of the second coat is white, but there are traces of red on the surface. On top of this is a third coat of white plaster made of coarse sand and lime about 0.02 m. thick. Probably this coat belongs to a second plastering. Fallen plaster found within the south room of the stoa was very coarse, about 0.025 m. thick, and showed no traces of color.

The columns and entablature were presumably of poros but no fragments have been found; the spacing of the columns is purely hypothetical. Superstructure as well as stylobate blocks may have been carried from the deserted acropolis for use in constructions in the valley in Roman or later times. The division walls and the end wall are about 0.65 m. thick, the top of the rear wall, which in its northern portion rose some six meters high to floor level, 1.00 m. thick. Exterior faces are built of coursed limestone blocks with rounded faces (Fig. 13), the rest of the walls are all of rubble. The horizontal joints are more rigidly continuous, the vertical ones more strictly vertical than in the masonry of the fortifications (Fig. 2). At the same time, the work seems more careful, the joints closer than in that of the peribolos in the valley (Fig. 4). No re-used material was to be seen in this section of the stoa, except in the euthynteria, as noted above. The roof was covered with large flat terracotta imbrices and angular cover tiles. It is possible that at the northwest corner, instead of earth fill, a lower story or a stairway leading to the plateia level occupied the space below the floor.

The second room from the south (VII *b*) shows a curious group of interior foundations (Pl. X, Fig. 13). Along the north and south walls these are *ca.* 0.30 m. wide. Against the east wall is one 1.00-1.10 m. wide, and in the center of the room are four, *ca.* 0.50 m. wide and 2.50 m. long with interspaces of 0.40-0.55 m. These foundations are not bonded with the room walls, and though preserved to nearly the original floor level, measure now only 0.75 m. from top to bottom, at which point the stoa walls increase in width. Evidently they served to carry heavy objects standing in rows upon the floor or in racks of some sort. The narrowness of the space between the rows implies inactive storage rather than frequent use and consultation such as might be made of official documents. Five pithoi of 0.50 m. diameter could be carried

by each of the central rows, with smaller jars against the north and south walls, and three of 1.00 m. diameter against the east wall. These might serve to hold oil or wine as a city reserve in case of need. Or, following the shrewd exposition of Hess¹⁵ con-



Fig. 13. South End of West Wing of Stoa, Looking Northeast

cerning the method of storing civic wealth in antiquity the foundations may have held racks for jars or bags of coins, with space against the eastern wall for chests. The main entrance from the portico would seem to be to the south of the wide foundation against the front wall, with a minor door leading into the adjacent room at the east end of the north wall. The capacity seems hardly sufficient for a city treasury, but it might have served as the treasury of the sanctuary of the Great Mother, on which in fact the whole stoa and plateia may have been dependent.¹⁶

¹⁵ "Opisthodom als Tresor," *Klio*, 1935, pp. 81-84.

¹⁶ It is reported in the excavation notebook that in the northeastern quarter of this room 300 fragments of roof tile (pan and cover), five small fragments of terracotta figurines (male and

Before the west wing of the stoa, on the axis of the fifth room from the south, the foundations of a statue base were found (Pl. X) but nothing of the base itself nor of the statue, nor any indication as to the subject. Nearly in line with the southern end of the stoa and nearly on the axis of the level ground of the plateia terrace is a large outcropping of native limestone that has been worked to receive some sort of artificial superstructure (Pl. IX and Fig. 14). An area *ca.* 2.00 m. from north to



Fig. 14. Rock-cut Base at South End of Plateia, Seen from the West

south and *ca.* 2.50-3.00 m. from east to west has been dressed as a bedding for cut stone, level except at one point where a cube of rock has been left to form part of the masonry core. At the eastern edge the rock is broken away, and, if this is an ancient condition, artificial foundations may have served to extend the platform to the east. At the west the rock is dressed to a lower step, as for a euthynteria 0.30-0.40 m. high. The native rock immediately south of the platform forms a saddle about 1.00 m. wide from north to south, which slopes to east and west. Possibly this is artificially worked, but as it is wholly below the level of the top of the supposed euthynteria, it was presumably below the ancient grade. South of the saddle, the rock rises irregularly to a maximum height of something less than a meter above the euthynteria top. This projection has been dressed to a vertical north face parallel with the east-west axis of the rock platform; elsewhere it is left in its natural condition. On both sides

female), and 75 fragments of large yellow and red clay jars were found *ca.* 0.80 m. below the untouched grade level. The large jars and figurines were presumably in the room when the roof collapsed.

beneath the mass of rock are natural waterworn hollows which may have served some cult purpose in antiquity, but which more probably were quite accidental and completely buried beneath the earth, since virgin soil was found quite close by at the level of the "euthynteria" cutting. Previous searchers had dug beneath the rock, and the roofs of the cave-like recesses had fallen; loose shale mixed with a few large stones and a very few sherds of coarse red pottery were all that was found within. Since the level of the top of the hypothetical euthynteria is over two meters above the grade of the road entering around the southeast corner of the stoa, steps to the north of the rock platform, or a retaining wall to form a terrace at the south end of the plateia, would have been required. As the earth in this region was not excavated there is no telling whether remains of such a wall exist.

The rock-cut platform may have served for a statue base or an altar or as a bema for public assemblies; no fragment of its superstructure nor indication of its purpose was discovered. Not far to the southwest stands a spike of native rock (Pl. IX), which, unless it was incorporated in some cyclopean construction, must have projected like an unworked cone above the terrace level, and directly south of the platform are several large boulders, seemingly in a row, which may possibly have formed part of ancient developments in this region, or may be purely accidental rock fall. Still farther to the south and nearly on the axis of the plateia a trench laid bare (Pl. IX, *g*), just beneath the surface of the earth, a roadway paved in broad low steps, running directly up the spine of the acropolis hill (Fig. 27, *g*, upper center). As the lower part of the road was gone, its connection with the plateia was missing, but doubtless it served as one of the main streets of the acropolis.

Beneath the west wing, as beneath the north wing of the great stoa, lie foundations of older structures demolished at the time of the new development (Pl. X). The farthest to the north of those uncovered lay just south of the statue base (Pl. X, X). Here the bottoms of two parallel walls *ca.* 0.45 m. wide, running from southeast to northwest, were joined almost at right angles by a similar wall which diverged from beneath the front foundation wall of the stoa. The room bounded by these three walls seems to have been open to the southeast, for the parallel side walls are built, like the back wall, of small stones for a length of three meters and then each is broken by a single large flat stone slightly wider than the wall itself, suggesting an anta base. Beyond this point each wall is continued for a meter more by fairly large flat stones which seem intended to serve as foundations for a sill. The bed rock has been cut away to permit the extension of these side walls; the cutting suggests that they reached a point 1.50 m. beyond the anta stones, and that the whole formed a prostyle portico *ca.* 4.50 m. square on the inside, with solid side walls for *ca.* 3.50 m. and columns at the corners. It is possible that another room lay behind this portico; the rock cutting indicates that the present remains are at least the height of a sill below the floor level, so that the absence of a door sill in the rear wall is not significant. The southwestern

rear corner was destroyed by the foundations for the stoa; at the northwest corner are a few scattered stones which may indicate a rearward continuation of the side wall or a continuation of the rear wall toward the northeast, or may be merely fortuitous tumble. Further remains might be found just west of the stoa stylobate foundations, but this area was not investigated. Along the north side of the northeast side wall remains of a terracotta drain were found running toward the northwest. Three sections of pipe, one of which had a clean-out hole in the top, were joined by a broken section of smaller diameter to a section of half pipe, laid as a collecting trough at the plateia end. Such drains usually occur beneath streets, but a street here seems unlikely, and no traces of paving were found.

Farther south a large drain 0.35-0.45 m. wide was built through the south extension of the stoa beneath the floor level (Pl. X, between VII *c* and VII *d*). It was floored and covered with stone slabs, while the walls were of large uncut stones; the intake beneath the euthynteria of the stoa was masked by a vertical slab and at the rear an outlet provided with a projecting lip emptied onto a street (F). This drain to carry off rain water from the plateia doubtless replaced several older drains, including a well-built one of terracotta pipe beneath the surface of the street into which the new drain emptied. This older street drain was found again beneath the southern extension of the stoa in a pit in the third room from the south (VII *c*) and beneath the stoa portico. At its beginning it was formed of pipe of smaller diameter, the first section of which had been displaced when the stylobate was laid. At its northwest end it probably joined a similar drain, a short section of which was uncovered at the top of the northernmost corner of the great retaining wall, beneath a street (E) which ran along the northern edge of the western terraces. The combined drain from streets E and F probably then poured forth by a spout in the retaining wall, onto a cobbled talus at its foot, or descended beneath a road which mounted to the terrace level more or less parallel with the rear wall of the stoa. Time did not permit verification of this hypothetical approach, but it seems the most reasonable way up to the acropolis from the western part of the valley, and was in fact the path usually taken by the excavators.

Behind the stoa, on the southwest side of street F, which had connected the ramp head with the plateia, were walls of houses, and on the opposite side a fragment of wall was found just at the corner where the northern section of the stoa stopped. Whatever structures originally stood on this side were probably entirely abandoned after the stoa was built, as the space then remaining was insufficient for a building. There would result a small open area, perhaps within a gateway at the entrance to the terrace.

Fragments of what may have been the flanking wall farther east on the northern side of the street entering the plateia were found beside the terracotta drain, cutting the stoa column foundations on a line which, if continued beneath the stone drain,

might emerge as the wall at the southwest corner of the first section of the west stoa. But fragmentary remains of successive rebuildings prevent the plan of the structure that stood here (Pl. X, IX, and Fig. 13) from being fully intelligible. The wall itself (*ca.* 0.50 m. wide and only one course high) seems to end with a definite cornerstone *ca.* 1.75 m. east of the stoa foundations. A group of adjacent stones may indicate a wall returning toward the north at a sharp angle, but this is far from certain. Just west of the column foundations, however, there is a definite wall (*ca.* 0.40 m. wide) at right angles to the first, which seems clearly to belong with it; its northern part lies beneath the stoa foundations. About $2\frac{1}{4}$ m. still farther to the northwest a wall, also at right angles to the first, may be the foundation for a threshold since in it are four stones side by side laid across the 0.30 m. wall, while just beyond, to the northwest, is an area of stones which suggests a paved strip before a building rather than a wall or chance tumble. The end of the street wall, which may have extended as an anta beside this paved strip, has gone. The resultant arrangement appears to be an H-shaped building with a room four meters or so deep on one side opening on the plateia and on the other a room of little more than half that depth opening on the uphill road from the northwest. The function as well as the width of the first room is quite unknown, but in the second room against the central cross wall, on a raised step or bench of earth edged with stones, were found remains of a pithos *ca.* 0.40 m. in diameter and the mark of the base of another somewhat larger one beside it. The width of the room as preserved would permit four such pithoi upon the bench; possibly there was space originally for twice that number. It is tempting to see in this room a precursor of the second room from the south end of the great stoa (VII *b*) which has been suggested as a municipal storehouse or a treasury. The older room would constitute by itself a very limited treasury, but combined with the opposite half, facing the plateia, it might have offered nearly if not quite as much space as the later room in the great stoa. Or it may have seen less dignified services as a tavern, placed Janus-wise at a main entrance to the plateia, with welcoming refreshment on one side for those who had just climbed the hill, and on the other a place to rest and seal in good fellowship the day's transactions, before setting out for home.

The line of the side wall of this structure runs more or less parallel to the walls of the portico by the statue base to the north, and between the two there are bits of three other walls running in the same general direction. The heaviest of these (*ca.* 0.85 m. wide) we may call wall γ . It lies beneath the portico of the stoa and seems intended to meet the corner of the southernmost room of the first section of the stoa, though broken off before reaching that point, as at the other end it stops just short of the stylobate foundation. It is doubtful if it ever formed any part of the great stoa construction and doubtless antedates it. It might be the end wall of a series of rooms of which that near the statue base formed the second. Five rooms of the same size, corresponding to the later five rooms of the north section of the stoa wing that

replaced them, would reach nearly to the hypothetical corner of the building (see above, p. 106) which, before the great stoa was commenced, lay to the west of the street (G) entering the north end of the plateia (Fig. 10; VII *h, i*). If wall γ post-dates the terracotta drain under street F, it may be that at sometime the line of the drain was shifted to the north approximating the line of the stone drain through the stoa, with consequent destruction of the structure between its first and second course; or the street may have forked, leaving a small, more or less triangular island between the old and the new roadway. Wall δ is *ca.* 0.45 m. wide and is built directly upon wall γ . It may be merely a scrap of retaining wall to hold a mass of rubble that was filled in about the stone drain, and as such is to be considered part of the foundation construction of the great stoa. Wall ϵ (*ca.* 0.40 m. wide) is only a fragment lying in front of the stylobate foundation. It is possible that some of the stones west of the stylobate, among the confused remains of the pithos room, may belong to a continuation of this wall, and other stones in the same region suggest a bit of wall running at right angles to it, ζ . If the latter be a real wall, it can hardly be contemporary with the wall of the pithos room, though whether earlier or later is uncertain, as all walls are below floor level here. Together with wall ϵ , ζ should belong to a building south of the road as re-routed along wall γ . Possibly some of the previously mentioned group of stones east of the southern corner of room IX may be part of another wall belonging to this system. The building of which these walls would form part would have to extend across the terracotta drain, closing this end of the southern course of the street in favor of the more northern route. There is also a suggestion of another line of wall crossing wall δ , in the pithos room, at a slight angle to it, and not quite parallel or at right angles to the walls of the pithos room. Perhaps there is evidence here of three successive constructions, all prior to the great stoa but all fairly close in date and all belonging to rather small isolated structures of public nature, rather than to houses.

Remains of other structures probably belonging to the same pre-stoa complex were found beneath the floor level of the first stoa room to the north of the drain (VII *d*), but, without excavation to the same depth beneath the adjacent portico and perhaps in other stoa rooms to the north, the nature of these earlier structures is far from clear. In the northeast part of the room a section of well-finished composition floor was laid bare.¹⁷ At the north this ends in a straight line approximately parallel to the side walls of the near-by pre-stoa room by the statue base. Along this line there had evidently been a threshold, removed when the stoa foundations were laid. The eastern edge of the floor is cut by the central wall of the stoa and the southern edge

¹⁷ No analysis of the substance of the composition floors at Colophon was made, but in appearance they were similar to the ground coat of the wall plaster found in the south end of the stoa (see above, p. 109), i. e., coarse sand, broken pottery or tiles and lime, spread as on the walls to a thickness of a few centimeters and troweled smooth.

is gone. A wall (*ca.* 0.45 m. wide) at right angles to this line flanked the floor on the west. It is preserved above the level of the floor only at the north and west corners of the remaining plastered section but continues on a lower level to the southwest for *ca.* 2.25 m. where it is crossed at right angles by a well-cut poros gutter (Fig. 15). The gutter stone is cut as if to fit around a dressed anta terminating the wall it crosses, suggesting that the composition pavement belonged to an open portico. A still earlier floor is perhaps indicated by traces of a packed layer of whitish earth *ca.* 0.20 m.



Fig 15. West Wing of Stoa, Looking South Along Rear Wall.
Room with Poros Gutter at Left, Terracotta Drain at Right Center

beneath the composition level. Nearly on the line of the gutter, though completely below it, runs a fragment of narrow wall that is approximately parallel to the terracotta drain in street F and the scrap of street wall outside the southwest corner of the stoa room VII *d*. This lower wall certainly antedates the composition floor, though it may be contemporary with the pithos room and the first layout of the street of the drain. On the other hand a group of four stones, set like the base of a square pillar, but separated from the floor by two centimeters of earth (Pl. X), is probably without significance, as may also be a group of stones north of the stone gutter and at about the same level, which suggest a wall parallel to it, as well as a random aggregation, like a pavement at the same level, south of the gutter. All these are probably tumbles from walls demolished when the stoa was built. However, we undoubtedly have here, as under the portico of the stoa (IX), remains of two successive constructions, possibly filling continuous functions, prior to the building of the stoa. The workmanship of all these earlier structures is not inferior to that of the stoa, and the rooms contained

may be scarcely less in size, but the walls are thinner and above all the grouping seems an unsystematized following of the natural line of the west edge of the terrace. The great stoa substituted for this the grandiose uniformity of a formal plan, dictated doubtless by an access of civic pride and wealth, rather than by necessity or any cultural change. The potsherds and few coins¹⁸ found within the stoa all date before 285 B.C.

Another pre-stoa structure lies beneath the southern end of the west wing. Here, laid in stereo about 1.10 m. below the floor level of the portico, is a considerable expanse of well-made composition floor (Fig. 13, Pl. X; VIII *b*). The west side of the rectangular room to which it belonged is cut by the central wall of the stoa, but the bottoms of walls on the other three sides are preserved. The lines agree more nearly with that of the near-by terracotta street drain than with those of the structures further north. The wall along the southeast side is continued beyond the southwest wall to form an anta flanking a floored prosthais before the floored room. Continuation of the floors of prosthais (VIII *a*) and room are found beneath the south room of the great stoa, though the wall between them has disappeared. In the westernmost part of the line where the prosthais floor would have met this division wall, the edge of the plaster, for a distance of about a meter, is particularly sharp and smooth, indicating contact with a cut-stone threshold. Large thresholds found elsewhere on the site measure about 1.50 m. in length. If the center of the threshold were *ca.* 0.25 m. from the end of the preserved floor plaster and if this point were on the axis of room and prosthais, the width of these two would be *ca.* 7.70 m. (actually the flooring preserved assures a minimum width of *ca.* 5.00 m.) with a depth of 3.30 m. for the prosthais and 4.70 m. for the room. The depth of the room is almost exactly that of the rooms of the later stoa, but the suggested width would exceed that of the stoa rooms by a couple of meters. The threshold may, of course, have been placed toward an end rather than in the center of the front wall, but, on the other hand, a short stretch of wall, thoroughly buried beneath the rear wall of the stoa and the subsequent structures built against it (Pl. X; VI *h*), lies nearly parallel to the south anta of the pre-stoa prosthais at a distance of approximately 7.70 m. from it. The prosthais floor is bordered at its front, southwest, edge by a sill or curb of long stones, dressed on top and front. If there ever were columns on this line, no foundations for them have been preserved. In front of the sill, and almost at the same level, is a pavement of irregular flat stones, belonging doubtless to a street or open area. Possibly a continuation of this pavement is to be seen in a patch of irregular stones in the corner of a later room (VI *g*), just to the west of the stoa. Directly south of the prosthais the ground rises so rapidly that a level passage past the southern corner could hardly have exceeded three meters in width, while a line of wall cut by a drain and buried beneath a new roadway, both probably contemporary with the stoa, faces the prosthais on a line nearly parallel with it at a distance of *ca.* 3.50 m.-*ca.* 4.15 m. A partition in the adjacent house (between

¹⁸ Milne, Periods III, IV, V: *Num. Notes and Mon.*, No. 96, pp. 49-72.

VI *f* and VI *g*) continues the line of this wall to the northwest for a total length of *ca.* 8.50 m., and after an interruption by three later rooms it seems to appear again beneath the floor of a fourth room (V *d*) with a turn in a right angle to the westward, at a distance of some 21.00 m. from its southeastern end. Excavation beneath the floors of the intervening rooms would be needed to verify the continuity of the wall. By the northern angle there is a fragment of cobble pavement which would indicate that the street flanked by the wall turned at the same point and by a short southwest course and then a northward turn reached the street running along the north edge of the west terrace. An area of cobblestones north of the poros paving of the later street D seems to mark the southwest stretch (Pl. X, Fig. 16), and a northward-running stone drain built beneath the cobbles just inside the entrance to a later house¹⁰ may mark the final reach.

The erection of the great stoa naturally entailed a general reorganization of the area lying about its southern end. At this time the new street D (Pl. X, Fig. 16) mentioned above (1.65 m.-1.75 m. wide) was laid out slightly to the west of the hypothetical one just suggested, not only connecting directly with the main plateia across a little plateia at the south end of the stoa, but continuing in a straight line by a steep incline to the level of the terrace at the south end of the great plateia and perhaps beyond (Pl. IX). The section of this street from its junction with the earlier cobble pavement at the north to the entrance to the little plateia is paved with poros blocks (Pl. X, Figs. 16, 17) which are as a rule 0.40 to 0.45 m. wide by 0.65 to 0.75 m. long by about 0.16 m. thick, but range from a minimum area of 0.20 × 0.30 m. to a maximum of 0.50 × 1.05 m. At the lower end of the pavement the blocks are fairly regular in shape and laid with care, but they become progressively less rectangular and more random in their arrangement as the street rises to the south, until at the upper end the pavement is made of small uneven blocks with wide irregular joints and interstitial plugs not more than ten or fifteen centimeters on a side. A slight step all across the street, by the north jamb of the doorway into the house to the east of the street (VI *e*, Pl. X, and Fig. 16), suggests that the street paving was not a continuous operation. In any case, the whole pavement is evidently made of re-used materials, laid from north to south with the best blocks used first and with barely enough broken material to finish out the stretch. Since no clamp or dowel cuttings are apparent, the blocks could hardly be wall plinths laid on their beds, nor, in view of the use of composition floors in the structures beneath the stoa, does it seem probable that they had been paving blocks; probably they originally served as wall facings for some of the important buildings demolished when the stoa was built. At both sides of the street the blocks are laid against the bottom of the adjacent house walls. The pavement therefore seems to have marked the completion of the building operation which, with the extension of the western wing of the great stoa, necessitated the rerouting of the street and much alteration if not complete revision of the houses on either hand.

¹⁰ House IV, μ ; see below, p. 122.

At the south, where the street passes the little plateia, the bed rock rises so steeply that instead of regular paving an irregular ramp was built, broken by steps made of rubble masonry and occasional large uncut blocks (Fig. 16). After continuing in this form between walls for a little over ten meters the street reaches a light terrace wall which runs straight across it, and continues beyond to east and west on either side (Pl. IX). Above this wall lay a relatively level stretch over which the straight course of the street still held, as is indicated by a short section of built-up drain and a patch



Fig. 16. Paved Street D from North End, Looking South

of cobblestones near by. The southwest boundary on this terrace is a retaining wall of good-size blocks approximately parallel with, but a couple of meters to the west of, the line of the side wall lower down. This retaining wall turns to the west almost at right angles, about two and a half meters south of the light terrace wall just mentioned; between the two a cross street running westward along the side of the hill is to be assumed. Since the eastern boundary of the terrace was not investigated it is uncertain whether the first street broadened out here or simply shifted its course slightly. If it continued for some twenty meters of slight up-grade in a straight line, it would eventually reach the steeper stepped street (*g*) which ran directly up the spine of the hill, approximately on the axis of the great plateia.

Along the south side of the little plateia stood a small building opening to the east, apparently consisting of two rooms, one behind the other, more likely a shop than a residence; the makeshift assemblage of re-used material that served as a doorsill (Pl. X, η) precludes a civic function. At the bottom on the outside of the wall facing

the little plateia were considerable areas of plaster (θ) about one centimeter thick, applied directly to the stone. The body was white with a red face. This plaster probably antedated the building of the great stoa and was preserved by being covered by the earth fill which buried the remains of the wall running across the little plateia (Pl. X, Fig. 13). In front of the building is a small terrace or platform built with roughly curved outline abutting against a natural outcropping of rock. Between this



Fig. 17. Looking North Down Paved Street D

platform and the stoa (a distance of less than 1.75 m. at the narrowest) three rough steps lead up from the little plateia approximately 0.60 m. to the grade at the southeast corner of the stoa, and from this point two other steps, 0.20 m. and 0.30 m. high, and slightly better built, descend to the great plateia level. Beneath the lowest step by the curved platform runs a well-built terracotta drain. At its emergence it is laid in a trench cut in stereo. It turns, with a right-angle bend, westward across the little plateia and doubtless continues north beneath the poros paving (Fig. 16) and again just before street D meets that along the north edge of the terrace (Pl. X). The affluent course of this drain from the south was not traced, but it seems probable that it kept to the west of the outcropping rock and drained the upper terrace south of the great plateia rather than the plateia itself. The sections are about 0.15 m. in diameter and 0.45 m. long

between raised rims; each has a four centimeter flange at one end to fit into the next section.

A doorway to what may well be another shop opens onto the street south of the paved section, where it rises steeply at the southwest end of the little plateia (Plate IX). This region lay outside the area surveyed; the walls throughout were fragmentary, and often not preserved as high as the original floor level. But from notebook sketches it appears that here also there were two rooms, one behind the other. Twenty centimeters beneath the floor level of the front room, as indicated by the doorsill (Pl. X, ι),



Fig. 18. Street B on West Terrace (East of Baths), Looking South Toward Steps to Upper Level

was found a second floor. Three stones set like a wall upon the upper floor may indicate a still later construction, or, if not a fortuitous arrangement, may be some part of the equipment of the room. Along the southern side of the room runs a built stone drain 0.15-0.20 m. wide. It is possible that at some time this drain was an open trough and that the whole room served as a latrine. The drain emerges through the front wall just beside and below the threshold block (at κ). Thence it runs straight across the line of the paved street and, curving to the north,²⁰ was found paralleling the latter beneath the corner room of the house northeast of it (Pl. X, VI f). But oddly enough the drain seems to come to a dead end here against a wall at right angles to it, which lay just to the north of a wall of the house in question. It would appear that the stone drain had been abandoned before the building of the stoa, perhaps at the time the composition-floored structure beneath the stoa's southern end was built, and when the

²⁰ Three of the cover blocks of the curved section are shown on Pl. X (λ) just south of the terracotta drain.

terracotta drain across the little plateia cut through it, the stone drain may have been already out of use for a score of years or more. To the west of the paved street, beneath the area of cobblestones that lies north of the poros pavement, another built-up drain, *ca.* 0.60 m. wide, was found (Pl. X, μ), with the top of its cover stones about 0.40 m. below the surface of the cobble paving.²¹ It seems to have come from the west and turned at this point sharply to the north; apparently it continued in use, at least from this point, in the period of the stoa and paved street, for west of it in the entrance court of the house (Pl. XI), contemporary with the stoa, is a line of six sections of terracotta drain emptying into the built drain in question. The terracotta drain is doubtless a private construction to carry water from the low part of the court; it is made of odd sections of 0.20 m. pipe, two of which have uncovered cleanout holes, quite unnecessary in this situation. Perhaps in the revision antedating the stoa the stone drain (μ) to the west of the street served to replace the other stone drain which crossed the upper southern part of the street from the west (κ, λ) and ran to the east of it, and was in turn replaced by the terracotta street drain in its function of carrying water from the upper terrace.

Another street (C), some thirty to thirty-five meters west of the paved street (D), ran from north to south across the west terrace (Pl. IX). Only the edge of this street was excavated and as a result its width is not known. Nineteen to twenty-one meters still farther west ran a third street (B). This one was 2.53 m. wide, paved with cobblestones up to the south edge of the terrace, where broad steps *ca.* 1.75 m. wide climbed the steeper slopes (Fig. 18). A fourth street (A) was found a little over twenty-one meters west of the third one. Street A was uncovered for its full width only at the north end, where it proved to be 2.00 m. wide, with an open gutter, 0.27 m. to 0.30 m. wide and *ca.* 0.60 m. deep, along its eastern side. At their northern ends all these streets must have met a street (E) running east and west along the top of the high terrace or fortification wall and thus perhaps have been connected with an ascent behind the great stoa. Unfortunately the top of the wall, the street along it and even the north walls of the houses, to a point below street level, had all slid down the hill. Between the paved street (D) and the next street to the west (C), three houses were uncovered (Pl. XI); the block between the street C and street B was not excavated; that between the street B and street A was found to contain a public bathing establishment. Farther west no digging was done except for a trial trench, 10 m. wide, at the extreme end of the terrace, and a similar one near by but somewhat higher on the hill.²² In the first of these far western trenches the base of a long wall with others at right angles to it on either side appeared, and in the other a long wall with walls at right angles on the west only and possibly a street to the east. These walls were all of moderate thickness—0.45 m.-0.65 m.—and probably belonged to houses, but time did not permit uncovering sufficient area to reveal the plans.

²¹ See above, p. 118.

²² These two trenches lie beyond the limit of Pl. IX. Their exact location was not recorded.

HOUSES WEST OF STREET D (II-IV)

EASTERN HOUSE (IV)

Of the three houses between the streets D and C, two were entered from street D, the eastern-most just beyond the northern limit of the poros paving, that in the center of the block at a point near the higher southern end of this pavement (Pl. XI).

The entrance to the eastern house (IV) is by an opening 1.25 m. wide, with a sill made of three blocks which show no cuttings for doors or door jambs (Fig. 16). This sill is laid upon the lower cobble pavement and is level with the poros one. It seems, however, that the cobble pavement, which had been cut away in the street in order to lay the terracotta drain, was covered there and apparently inside the entrance to the house as well, with a fill of hard-packed soil mixed with bluish stone to the level of the poros pavement. It is therefore quite possible that a secondary stone threshold with appropriate cuttings was laid upon the blocks now in place. The house wall to the south of the entrance, 0.35 m.-0.40 m. wide, is carefully faced with coursed rectangular limestone blocks, dressed with flat outer faces like the re-used blocks in the north wing of the great stoa (Fig. 12),²³ while that to the north is 0.55 m.-0.65 m. thick and built of rubble, obviously to be plastered. Probably the two are not contemporary, but as the latter is merely an enclosure wall, while the former belongs to the most pretentious room in the house, the difference may not be significant. It is possible also that the cut blocks may have been re-used here, though they seem rather too carefully laid for this to be the case. Probably they formed only a socle two or three courses high. There is not sufficient evidence to say with certainty whether the upper part of this or other house walls in Colophon was made of crude brick or rubble, since walls are rarely preserved for a height of more than a meter. But as no heavy deposits of earth were found, such as would be expected from unburned bricks and as the walls where highest show no definite horizontal tops, it seems probable that they were usually built throughout of easily handled uncut stones,—of which there was no lack upon the hill,—pulled down and re-used many times as house plans were altered, with cut blocks for socles only and at corners and jambs. In few cases, however, would the rubble have been left unplastered, as the natural stones give far less uniform surfaces than such as are found in the walls of Delos.

Within the outer gate of house IV, on the right hand, is an alcove, probably unroofed, which resulted from adjusting the line of the street to the earlier system of the house itself, while straight ahead is a downward sloping uncovered passage, 3.50 m. long, widening from *ca.* 1.10 m. to *ca.* 1.50 m. in its course. Across the lower western end there may have been a sill of independent stones, of which the northern

²³ See above, p. 107.

one, flat on its upper side and curved below to cover the end of the previously mentioned terracotta drain (see above, p. 122), is alone preserved. Beyond lies an open yard approximately 5.25 m. from north to south and 4.50 to 5.50 m. from east to west. An irregular stone curb divides this area in two, the northern half roughly paved with occasional flat stones lying about 0.50 m. below the level of the top of the preserved entrance threshold, while the southern is *ca.* 0.15 m. higher. North of the yard lies the house proper, consisting essentially of a rectangular block *ca.* 9.50 m. from east to west by *ca.* 7.50 m. from north to south. This block is divided by internal walls into four parts. The principal piece (IV *a*) in the northwest corner is approximately 5 meters square. A large poros threshold set somewhat off center in the southern wall had seen service in one or two previous situations. This is indicated by rabbets for door abutments along front and rear edges, with two sets of hinge sockets, and in addition two sets of holes as if for grill pivots on the top. On this threshold there once were double doors filling an opening *ca.* 1.15 m. wide between wooden jambs. A fragment of marble, carved as if part of a door jamb or epistyle, was found at the north side of the doorway, but it is doubtful if it belonged to this house.

Across the front of the room ran a portico (IV *b*) or *prostas* of like width and about 3.00 m. deep. From the east side a short wall or long *anta* projects for slightly over a meter, matched by another 1.85 m. long projecting from the west, leaving a clear space of *ca.* 2.60 m. between. The face of these walls lies about thirty centimeters south of the south wall of the eastern part of the house (IV *d*) and is carried as an overlap onto the latter, with the result that when seen from the court the east *anta* wall appears to be, like the western one, nearly 2.00 m. long. A row of unmatched poros blocks set to an even front line served as sill for the portico. Inside each *anta* is a roughly rectangular mass of rubble; there is no indication as to the purpose of these elevated foundations, though on the analogy of the closely related houses at Priene²⁴ where cooking hearths were frequently located in or adjacent to the *prostas*, one at least may have served as such. What appears to have been the main altar of the house stood in the court, approximately on the central line of the opening in the *prostas* and doorway behind.²⁵ It served as a western termination for the long curb or step which raised the southern part of the court above the northern. This "altar," *ca.* 0.80 m. square, was made of four roughly dressed poros orthostates—the northern one a re-used block—around a core of rough stones, leaving a depression of five to

²⁴ Wiegand-Schrader, *Priene*, pp. 291-292, "Als Küche hat in Priene oft die *Prostas* gedient. . . . Der Herd besteht aus einem meist quadratischen, mit Lehm aufgeführten Bruchsteinklotz."

²⁵ This and a similar structure in house II *c*, described on p. 146, are referred to in Robinson-Graham, *Olynthus*, VIII, p. 188 as "hearths." The location in the courts approximately on the axis of the *prostas*, as well as the small size of that in house II, seems to indicate that they served for sacrificial rather than for cooking fires. For this reason they are referred to throughout this report as altars.

ten centimeters at the top. The earth in this basin was very red, as if burned, and there were numerous traces of charcoal.

Two smaller rooms (IV *c*, IV *d*) to the east of the main room and its portico completed the square block of the house. The width of both, from east to west, was 3.30 m. to 3.40 m. with the south room *ca.* 3.70 m., the north one *ca.* 2.50 m. deep. The south room (IV *d*) is entered from the prostas by a doorway, the poros sill of which is cut for a door near the front edge, so that when open the valves projected inward only slightly beyond the jambs. The north room (IV *c*) must have been entered from the large room, but the dividing wall has been carried away below floor level and no trace of a threshold is left.²⁶

At the west end of the prostas another door leads to a room (III *d*, *ca.* 2.90 m. by 3.10 to 3.30 m.) in what appears to be the neighboring house. The sill is broken in three pieces and is doubtless re-used, and the south jamb shows none of the large squared stones that are usual at corners and wall ends. The long stretches of wall dividing the eastern house from the middle one of the block give the impression of being so definitely conceived and executed that it hardly seems possible that this incursion beyond the line could have been originally intended, and more probable that the room in question was acquired from the owner of the middle house and connected with the eastern one in a subsequent alteration. On the other hand there is no trace of a doorway from this room connecting with the next house, though the fact that the walls are preserved here for a height of only one or two stones above floor level makes it impossible to say that some earlier opening may not have been walled up. To the north of this debatable room there appears, on plan, to be still another (III *c*), but the wall separating this from the large room in the east house (IV *a*)—preserved for most of its length—shows no opening. And while in the center of its south wall there is a gap, slightly over a meter long at the floor level, where a threshold block might have been expected, it is probable that this gap is fortuitous and that the foundations to the north and west of the area (III *c*), preserved now only to a level considerably below the original grade, are survivals of an earlier arrangement. It is also possible that the area belonged neither to the east nor middle house but was a shop opening on the street along the north edge of the west terrace. At one time also, the room to the south (III *d*) may have belonged with it. A stretch of wall foundation lying beneath the western side of the main room and prostas of the east house (IV *a*, *b*), just below the floor level, seems to mark the western limit of the house at an earlier period. The door to IV *a* would thus have been approximately centered without the overlap of the façade onto IV *d*. Or it is possible that in an earlier arrangement there were but two instead of three houses between streets C and D, the division being on the line of the west walls of III *c* and III *e*. In that case the main room and prostas

²⁶ It is possible that this room was not actually part of the house, but formed a shop opening on the street to the north; see below.

would have two rooms on each side, III *c* and III *d* balancing IV *c* and IV *d*. The house to the west might have followed a similar arrangement (see below, p. 136).

To the left of the passageway from the street to the courtyard of house IV lies a second major element of the establishment. This consists of a room (IV *i*) almost exactly square, *ca.* 4.30 m. on a side, facing toward the west, above which was a second story, probably similar in plan, reached by an exterior stairway. The door



Fig. 19. View Northeast Across Western Terrace from Southwest Corner of House II

sill—slightly off center in the west wall—opens on the southern half of the court. It consists of three blocks, which may once have been one and which in any case are doubtless re-used, set with upper surfaces about eleven centimeters above the floor. The double doors, giving an opening of *ca.* 1.20 m., were swung on the inner face of the wall. The floor is covered with a fine cement-like red pavement, excellently preserved. It lies from 0.50 m. to 1.00 m. below the level of the sloping street to the east and *ca.* 0.07 m. below the level of the court to the west. The east wall, that against the street, built of cut limestone headers and stretchers on the outside, is faced on the inside at the bottom with two courses of well-cut and carefully set poros slabs 0.30 m. high and 0.55 m. and 0.30 m. long, in imitation of headers and stretchers (Fig. 19).

Above these two courses the wall is of rubble as are the other three walls from the floor up. Traces of fallen red wall plaster were found in the room. The peculiar character of this east wall and the fact that the poros facing extends behind the abutting side wall at the north strengthens the suspicion that it antedates the latter. However, all the walls are carefully built, incorporating a number of large dressed stones, and in the north door jamb the two halves of a broken hand millstone.²⁷ This north door jamb and the north wall are about 10 cm. thicker than the house walls elsewhere.

The stairway to the second story starts southward from the court about in line with the southern door jamb of the paved room and *ca.* 1.20 m. to the west of it (Pl. XI). The bottom section is a solid rubble pier 0.80 m. to 1.10 m. wide, bearing roughly cut limestone treads having an average rise of *ca.* 0.20 m. and a run of *ca.* 18 m. Six are preserved in place and two more, somewhat fragmentary and disarranged, reach a height of *ca.* 1.60 m. at a distance of *ca.* 0.75 m. from the courtyard wall. Presumably the topmost one formed the edge of a platform at which level the stair turned. It would seem not to have continued above the small room immediately to the west for lack of specific support, but rather to have turned to the east above a cupboard which separated the stair from the paved east room. The masonry of the lower run of steps formed the west side of the cupboard, the long boundary wall of the property formed the rear and a thin rubble wall built against the eastern room flanked it on the east. The opening was narrowed by a roughly cut poros pier, about one meter high, set as an eastern jamb; the floor appeared to have been made of stone slabs laid about 25 cm. above the level of the court; an uncut block across the bottom of the opening may have served as a sill. Among the tumble of earth and stone that filled the cupboard when the roof collapsed was a spherical cooking jar with handles, crushed but practically complete. The lintel of the doorway, as well as the stairs forming the roof above, must have been of wood. Since the floor level of the second story could not have been much less than three meters above the ground, considering the ostentatious character of the room below, the upper run of steps could not have gone east, but must have run north along the face of the building, to reach a balcony and probably a doorway directly over that of the room below. The balcony might have been carried by simple cantilever extensions of the floor beams.

Beyond the stairway the south side of the court is faced by a two-room structure (IV *g*, IV *h*) the front wall of which parallels the building on the north but in a broken line, due probably to a well already existing on the site. The courtyard doorway to this south building has only irregular poros blocks for a threshold, while that between the outer and small inner room has no sill at all. It is quite possible that both lacked doors and that the rooms served only as a stable and storage shed. The un-

²⁷ See *Olynthus*, VIII, pp. 327 ff.

usually large size of the wall stones and large upright stone jamb to the inner door may have been designed to resist hoof blows. A fragment of flat roof tile found near by, showing the edge of an opening with slightly raised rim, suggests that the inner room was lighted from above.²⁸ In the outer room a large water pitcher, complete but in fragments, was found 0.10 m. above the floor, with several almost whole smaller vases.

The well is circular, about 0.75 m. in diameter, built of relatively small stones. As no trace of a lip or curb above ground was found, it may be that the top of a large pithos was used to protect the opening as was done in the west house in this block. In fact, fragments of a badly broken pithos were found in the well itself at a depth of 4.00 m. to 4.70 m. below the court: at the latter depth a hard limestone anta capital was also found. It seems quite probable that the capital originally stood on the jamb of the opening immediately west of the well, indicating that whatever its function, the south shed—and probably the whole court—was given a good architectural finish. At higher levels in the well only a small terracotta saucer and numerous fragments of terracotta figurines (a female head, a horseman, etc.) were found. An inflow of water quickly followed excavation.

On the west side of the court a wall, 1.50 m.-1.60 m. in front of the party wall, forms a long narrow room (IV f) entered at the north end by an opening, for which the south wall of the main building forms one jamb. This doorway has no threshold and probably had no door. It seems probable that the whole room is an addition to the original plan, for the front wall destroys the symmetrical effect of the façade of the main building, which because of the overlap onto the wall at the east, appears to have been consciously designed. Without this room also the "altar" would be not only approximately on the axis of the prosta of the main building but almost exactly equidistant from the east and west sides of the court, and the court as a whole would form an orderly architectonic composition.

Throughout the area of the court, the earth from 0.07 m. to 0.42 m. above the original level was filled with roof tiles mingled with fragments of large pottery jars and pieces of small pithoi with round pithos covers of terracotta and blue shale.²⁹ Within the room at the west of the court (IV f) a pithos rim *ca.* 0.30 m. in diameter lay inverted on the floor, and outside, near the "altar," was another of *ca.* 0.50 m. diameter, nearly whole, standing upon the ground. Fragments of still a third large terracotta vessel were found against the house wall in the northeast angle of the court

²⁸ A number of similar tiles with openings for light or ventilation have been found at Olynthus and Micyberna (Robinson-Mylonas, *A.J.A.*, 1939, p. 54; 1943, p. 85) and at many other sites. For illustration see Curtius-Adler, *Olympia*, Vol. II, p. 17, fig. 10a, and Wiegand-Schrader, *Priene*, fig. 330. The circular form of the hole in the latter instance may be an incorrect restoration based on a fragment of an elliptical opening as found elsewhere.

²⁹ The roofs throughout the acropolis were characteristically covered with flat pan tiles (cf. Fig. 21) and polygonal cover tiles.

just by the cover stone at the opening of the courtyard drain. These last fragments may have belonged to a great bowl or basin for family washing or to a large jar used as a receptacle for rain water supplied directly by a spout at the corner of a gutter running across the house façade. There is no other evidence of rain-water collection nor any indication of its removal, except by the drain from the low northeast corner of the court. The roof of the main house-building may have had an east-west ridge and drained partly into the court to the south and partly into the street to the north, or with a single slope have drained wholly to the north; that on the two-story east building (IV i) may have had a transverse ridge also, which on the court side may have extended over the balcony; or again there may have been but a single slope draining into the paved street. In both cases the single slope seems the more logical.³⁰ The south rooms probably were roofed with a single slope toward the court, and the west room likewise with a low sloping roof starting from the west wall at a level below the eaves of the south rooms.

The constituent elements of the residence revealed here are remarkably clear and well differentiated. Colophon was still a roomy, non-commercial city, free from the extreme condensation necessary in a city crowded within its walls as at Priene, while the complexity of paved courts, colonnades and reduplicated chambers elaborated to display the wealth of the owner, as at Delos, had not been reached. Here the elements are such as might almost as well be found on a farm as in a city, set openly about a yard rather than coalesced into a unified structure around a central court.

The first element is the house proper, with the main living room and workroom of the mistress and her maid preceded by a porch or *προστάς* open to the south, where the winter sun might shine through the doorway to warm the inner room, while in turn there would be shade from the more vertical rays of summer.³¹ Attached to this were two chambers, the *thalamos* of the master and his wife, probably entered from the main room, and a second, perhaps the *amphithalamus* of Vitruvius,³² a chamber for other members of the family or for guests, entered from the *prostas*. In this particular instance an extra chamber to the west, also entered from the *prostas*, seems to have been required, perhaps because of a large family or unusual hospitality on the part of the owner. It may have been this group of rooms alone, thought of as separate from all dependencies, that was known to the Greeks as the *οἶκος*, and it is quite possible that in principle the distinction between the *oikos* group of rooms at the north, and all other rooms and courts, as at Delos, persisted in the unified plans of later periods.³³ The second element is the isolated two-storied structure. From its

³⁰ A slope of about 1:4 for Colophonian roofs seems indicated elsewhere; see below, p. 152.

³¹ Cf. Xenophon, *Mem.*, III, viii, 8-10, where the porch is called a *παστάς*. According to Vitruvius, VI, 7, 1, the depth of the porch should be two-thirds the width.

³² VI, 7, 2.

³³ The four-room type *οἶκος*, with or without other rooms, appears many times at Priene. Cf. Wiegand-Schrader, *Priene*, Chapter X, *passim*.

size and workmanship the lower room was evidently the room where friends of the master were entertained, the *ἀνδρών* or *ἀνδρωνίτις*,³⁴ and faced toward the west to receive the afternoon sun.³⁵ The upper story would then seem to have been the *gynaikonitis* as described by Lysias, *οἰκίδιον ἔστι μοι διπλοῦν, ἴσα ἔχον τὰ ἄνω τοῖς κάτω κατὰ τὴν γυναικωνίτιν καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἀνδρωνίτιν*.³⁶ The name *πύργος* seems sometimes to have been applied to a structure in the upper story of which the women dwelt, as indicated by Demosthenes: *αἱ μὲν ἄλλαι θεράπαιναι (ἐν τῷ πύργῳ γὰρ ἦσαν, οὐπερ*



Fig. 20. Stairway in Middle House (III)

διαιτῶνται) ὥς ἤκουσαν κραυγῆς, κλείουσι τὸν πύργον.³⁷ This name is particularly appropriate to a free-standing structure of more than one story but might have been used for any small section carried a story above the main roof of a house. Of the minor dependencies little need be said; the sheds about the court probably served for stables and servants' quarters, storerooms and possibly kitchens, though it is also quite possible that cooking was done in the *prostas*. At Colophon the well is a usual feature; the altar of Zeus Herkeios, the familiar courtyard god, was found throughout the Greek world.³⁸

³⁴ Aeschylus, *Cho.*, 712; Xenophon, *Sympos.*, I, 13.

³⁵ Vitruvius (VI, 7, 3) says that *credrae* should face to the west, and (VI, 4, 1) that winter dining rooms and bath rooms should face southwest.

³⁶ *De caede Eratos.*, 9. The possibility is suggested that in an arrangement such as is found at Colophon the main body of the house was known as the "*oikos*" and the separate two-story section with the *andron* below was called the "*oikidion*."

³⁷ XLVII, 56.

³⁸ For a general discussion of Greek house plans, see D. M. Robinson, supplement to the

In this plan one can easily see foreshadowed the more developed type where the entrance passage is roofed over and closed with a door at each end, the *θύρα αὔλειος* and the *θύρα μέταυλος*,³⁹ while the niche beside the outer door becomes the porter's lodge. The court surrounded with continuous buildings develops colonnades on east, west, and south sides to match the deeper *prostas* on the north, and the stairway may serve not only the upper story of an isolated *pyrgos* but a story above any part around the court. Something of all this development is to be seen in the houses of Olynthos, already a more advanced type than those at Colophon, and later at Priene and luxurious Delos. But whereas Priene houses are closely related to the Colophonian, the Olynthos houses seem to follow another prototype in which the primitive *oikos*, instead of consisting of main room with *prostas* in front and two side rooms forming a square block, had three or more rooms set side by side with a portico or *parastas* (*pastas*) all across the southern front.⁴⁰ It is far from surprising that the primitive house type of Macedonia should be different from that of Ionia and altogether likely that there were several types to be found on the Greek mainland different from either of these. As for the primitive Athenian house, if it were subjected to any outside influence, we might expect it to reflect the eastern rather than the northern plan. The resemblance of the Delian houses to those of Olynthos may result from a general spread of Macedonian types in Hellenistic times, due to the conquests of Alexander.

MIDDLE HOUSE (III)

The entrance to the middle house of the three in the block between streets C and D is from the southern end of the paved street D over a threshold made of two ill-matched poros blocks, the cuttings on which indicate a double door between wooden jamb posts set *ca.* 1.20 m. apart. Beyond this gate a cobbled declivity, narrowing from *ca.* 2.30 m. to *ca.* 1.70 m., leads west between the wall of the middle house "*pyrgos*" (III *h*) on the north and the retaining wall of the next terrace to the south. The level of this next terrace seems to have been about a meter higher than the threshold to the middle house (Fig. 21). The grade of the cobbled slope drops about twenty centimeters in a distance of about 4.50 m. to the southwest corner of the "*pyrgos*," where the stairway to an upper story began. The stairway was *ca.* 0.85 m. wide (Figs. 20 and 21); its two lower steps, built of hewn conglomerate blocks *ca.* 0.20 m. high with

article *Haus* in Pauly-Wissowa, probably Supplementary Vol. VII, pp. 252-278 (here cited from an advance reprint), and Rider, *The Greek House*. Cf. Robinson and Graham, *Olynthus*, VIII, particularly parts III-V.

³⁹ Lysias, *De caede Eratos.*, 17.

⁴⁰ The word *παραστός* obviously means "that which stands along side of, or against," and as such it might signify a flanking passageway or colonnade as in a stoa, a flanking wall as at the side of a deep portico, or even the jamb of a door. In spite of much argument to the contrary I do not believe that it ever meant a pilaster or specifically the *end* of a wall.

treads *ca.* 0.26 m., project into the entryway. At the far side of the stairs a curb of small rectangular stones forms a step from the cobbled slope to a small cobbled platform about twenty centimeters lower, which in turn opens by a similar downward step of twenty centimeters to west and north. Here the court widens to *ca.* 6.50 m. reaching from the terrace retaining wall on the south to the boundary wall of the neighboring house on the north. A roughly paved way *ca.* 1.50 m. wide continues downward along the foot of the terrace wall, descending about two centimeters to the meter, with the



Fig. 21. Core of Stairway and Southwest Corner of Andron of Middle House (III), from the Northeast

court to the north following a similar gradient some 0.15 m. below. An irregular line of large uncut stones forms the curb of the roadway, behind which at the eastern end are a few flat stones and farther west only the native rock. A portico, with opening *ca.* 2.30 m. wide, stands before the first story room of the "*pyrgos*" (III h). A step of irregular poros blocks, level on top and set to an even west edge, raises the portico floor above the court to the level of the roadway. The primary function of the portico was doubtless to carry the wooden upper part of the stairway and a balcony for access to the second story of the "*pyrgos*." For this reason it is set as far north as possible, with only the continuation of the "*pyrgos*" wall set tight against the neighboring house for north anta. At the south the anta is a face wall which laps the stone core of the stairway for *ca.* 1.40 m. while projecting beyond it to form an alcove within the portico (Fig. 21), reminiscent of that beneath the stairs in the first house considered. The doorway from the portico to the "*andron*" with a large re-used poros threshold in

two pieces, showing two sets of hinge sockets for an opening about 1.00 m. wide, is in turn not centered on the portico opening but set as far south as might be, with its south jamb in approximate alignment with that of the portico. Thus from the portico the opening appears evenly spaced between stair core and north anta, and from within would not seem unduly crowded toward the corner of the room. The fact that the stairway actually starts two steps above the floor of the portico and "*andron*" shortens the run needed to reach the upper story. But if the second floor be assumed to be only 2.50 m. above the ground floor, the stair could still not land there until it had passed a step or two beyond the southern jamb of the portico. The upper door could not then center over the lower one, though it might bear such a relation to the portico opening. The balcony surely continued to the north wall, though whether a roof extended over it is wholly conjectural.

The "*andron*" itself (III h), *ca.* 4.00 m. deep by 4.25-4.50 m. wide, though nearly as large as that next door (IV i), is by no means so carefully built, nor is its plan so accurately rectangular. The street wall is of small rubble instead of the lime-stone ashlar to the north; the floor, at a level about 1.00 m. above that of its neighbor, shows no indication of paving, nor was there any interior facing to the walls but plaster. The disparity in preservation of the side walls is curious. That along the street to the east stands to a height of *ca.* 0.30 m. above the floor in the north half and double that height in the south (Fig. 17); the south wall is *ca.* 0.80 m. above the floor at the east and 0.90 m. to 1.00 m. at the west end (Fig. 21), where the core of the stairs and solidly built south face wall of the portico have resisted overthrow. But the north anta of the portico has but a single square poros block, *ca.* 0.15 m. high, at the end, and continues eastward at the same height in small stone rubble laid against the still lower party wall, to disappear entirely before reaching the eastern wall. The west wall, in which lies the door sill, likewise stands only *ca.* 0.15 m. above the floor, and this is particularly surprising in the southern section where the stair core and south wall rising 0.75 m. higher should have protected it (Fig. 21). There may be an indication here that the front wall and north wall, shielded by the portico and by the "*pyrgos*" to the north, were of clay brick, while more exposed walls were of stone. This certainly is not impossible, but no special deposit of clay was noted and inferior workmanship, with the use of small stones, poor bedding and so forth on interior walls, may account as well for the difference in preservation.

For a distance of about 14.30 m. the wall of the east house property runs at right angles to the paved street D, and then bends in an acute angle to run northward in a second straight line. It can hardly be doubted that these dividing lines were laid out when the paved street was surveyed, probably at the time of the southward extension of the great stoa, and that the adjacent houses were designed and built or rebuilt or altered to conform to the new allotments. The southern angle of this party line serves to mark the division of the outer elongated trapezoidal "*pyrgos*" section,

by which the middle property is reached from the paved street, from the main more or less rectangular section of the lot. The northern part of the latter area is occupied by the house proper, the southern part, likewise approximating a square, by the main court and its dependent sheds. The court, particularly along its southern side, shows many traces of earlier arrangements. At the west, about 0.60 m. in front of the terrace wall, is an inner wall of large stones nearly a meter high, rising from bed rock. Other stones seem to carry this construction at right angles into the court for a couple of meters. Doubtless all this is the base of an earlier terrace wall. East of this projecting line a mass of large stones, more or less well dressed, and about $0.30 \times 0.40 \times 0.60$ m. in size, mixed with the yellow clay of stereo, forms a sort of low rectangular platform. Directly in front and *ca.* 0.60 m. lower is a circular well, built of uncut stones. The bottom of this was reached at a depth of 3.20 m. where a large unhewn stone extended under the side walls on three sides. Fragments of water pitchers and one or two small fragments of fourth-century vases were found in the fill. The top of the well has a curb of flat stones flush with the ground, unworked except for the one at the south which has in its face a rectangular sinkage, 0.14 m. wide and 0.19 m. high, framed by projecting mouldings. This stone was evidently intended to hold some wooden construction, possibly to facilitate use of the well for cold storage of food. Or, since the orientation of the well agrees with that of the remnants of large stone construction to the south, it may be that at one time a water conduit on the terrace above projected a long spout northward, to pour into the well, and that a strut from the well curb supported the spout's end. A large slab on the north, directly opposite, has beneath it a low channel *ca.* 0.35 m. wide, as if for an overflow from or into the well. The north line of this slab is continued to east and west by blocks forming a curb to raise the level of the ground about the well some twenty centimeters above the northern part of the court. The top of the mass of stones south of the well is about 0.60 m. higher still; in the eastern portion close to the terrace wall the broken top of a pithos, originally perhaps 0.70 m. in diameter, was found sunk slightly below the surface, but it cannot be said whether a shed ever stood upon this rough platform, or whether in an earlier arrangement of the terrace wall it formed the base of a bastion of the upper terrace. From the northeast corner of the platform a line of poros blocks extends to the southward angle of the party wall as a curb, separating the sloping "*pyrgos* court" from the more nearly level "*oikos* court." The top of the curb, where it meets the platform, is *ca.* 0.35 m. above the level of the well curb: at its northern end it is *ca.* 0.10 m. lower, while the general level of the court, paved with cobblestones at least in the northeast part, is 0.20 m.-0.40 m. lower still. Curb, platform, and well are all laid out on a rectangular system which seems to antedate those of terrace wall or party line.

From the west wall of the court at about its mid point, a wall runs eastward parallel to the terrace wall, for a little over three meters and then turns at right angles

south for a meter and a half, where it comes to a good square end. Doubtless this wall forms the northern boundary of a shed,—perhaps a store room or stable,—but whether the whole area (III *g*) between it and the terrace was roofed over, and if so whether the east side was carried by posts or by a wall which has since disappeared, cannot be said. The remaining north wall actually rests upon an older one, and its line is prolonged beyond its eastern corner by one or two stone courses which were probably buried beneath an irregular continuation of the grade about the well. Within the shed there are foundations of a wall parallel to the north wall, another line 1.50 m. south of it, and a third nearly on the line of the west party wall. An early floor level *ca.* 0.10 m. above that of the well curb was also indicated by burned material, but all these indications of earlier structures within the shed had been covered by an earthen fill at least 0.20 m. higher, rising perhaps nearly to the level of the rough platform and remains of wall and stereo at the base of the terrace wall. A bronze coin of Colophon found on top of the old wall and below the later floor dates from the first half of the fourth century.⁴¹

From the north wall of the shed another short wall runs north, forming an alcove *ca.* 1.40 m. square between it and the west party wall. In the eastern half of this area (Pl. XI, *v*) the earth to a height of over half a meter was dull brick red in color as if baked by fire. This earth was bounded on the west by what seemed to be slabs of plaster, 0.06 m. thick, more than 0.35 m. high and *ca.* 0.75 m. from south to north, set on edge; probably this was a heavy plaster facing for a raised clay hearth. The western half of the alcove was paved with cobble, as at one time the whole court perhaps may have been. Doubtless the alcove was roofed, but lacking a door there could have been scant shelter within. Since so constricted an area would have made a cramped kitchen at best, it seems not impossible that here stood an earthen altar beneath an *aedicula*, with narrow space to the west for the officiant. There is no other altar in the court.

The house proper consists of but three parts, all nearly square and nearly equal in size. First is the *prostas* (III *b*), not a shallow portico as in the first house, but a room, 3.80-4.10 m. wide by 4.10 m. deep. A short wall at the western side reduced the opening to 2.65 m. The sill, of fair-sized limestone blocks, could have carried no column or post to divide the span, since its straight southern edge is set almost at the inner, rather than at the outer face of the wall. A *poros* column drum, 0.40 m. in diameter and 0.40 m. in height, which came to light at the western end of the sill, could not therefore have belonged to this house, but must have slid and rolled from some structure higher on the hill. In the sheltered southwest angle of the *prostas* a foundation or basis of uncut stones forms a rough square about 0.90 m. on a side and 0.50 m. high. On the floor beside it was the inverted rim of a *pithos ca.* 0.50 m.

⁴¹ Milne, Period III, *ca.* 389-*ca.* 350 B.C.: *Num. Notes and Mon.*, No. 96, pp. 49-59.

in diameter. To the east, on the level of the sill, there were found a large pot completely in fragments, a small terracotta lamp decorated on the top, and a small vase. Above the foundation were clay brick, largely decomposed into red earth, but sufficiently preserved for the size, 0.055 m. thick by at least 0.15×0.20 m. in area, to be noted. The presence of brick suggests that the basis was used as a hearth, or possibly an oven. In the diagonally opposite corner of the *prostas* there is another basis, much better built, and as now preserved consisting of three large cut poros blocks, 0.17 m. high, encasing a core of rubble against the wall (Fig. 19). There was no trace of superstructure and the wall itself is preserved only 0.25 m.-0.30 m. above the floor. The purpose of this basis is obscure, its workmanship is worthy of an altar, but it may have served as the domestic hearth, if the opposite one had some different function.

Double doors, *ca.* 1.20 m. wide, set upon a large poros threshold, unbroken but reworked for its present position, led into the main room (III *a*) to the north of the *prostas*. This room, *ca.* 4.90 m. square, is nearly the size of the corresponding room in the first house (IV *a*). The door is set upon the axis of the room rather than on that of the narrower *prostas*. The second room (III *e*), to the east of the *prostas*, 3.60 to 3.80 m. by 4.80 to 4.90 m., is considerably larger than any of the subsidiary rooms in the east house. Perhaps its size and that of the *prostas* were intended to compensate for the small number of rooms. The doorway in the center of the west wall is fitted with a well-cut limestone sill, which, though broken, shows no sign of re-use except for a second bolt hole; the opening was *ca.* 0.75 m. wide. The north wall of this room and the walls of the large room and *prostas* are preserved only a few centimeters above the floor level, but it is certain that there were no further doors in them. The wall facing upon the court, however, together with its return to the south jamb of the doorway to the side room is preserved to a height of *ca.* 0.50 m. to 0.55 m. above the floor level. On the outer face it is made of roughly dressed flat-faced squared blocks of poros of various sizes laid in two courses, with single large blocks at the corner and next the threshold (Fig. 19). The inside of the wall is well built of large uncut blocks of limestone; above this base the wall was presumably of rubble. An anomaly is to be noted in the fact that the line of the east wall of the *prostas* is not continuous with the east wall of the large room, nor does the north wall of the *prostas* carry through as the north wall of the side room. Instead a single stone, forming a bit of wall of half the normal width, serves to separate the adjacent corners of the two rooms. Such an arrangement has all the appearance of being a makeshift one. It seems likely that the south wall, the southwest corner, and perhaps the threshold of the side room of the middle house were already standing before the present division into house lots was laid out, and the long walls separating the east house from the middle one in the block built, and that the line of the west wall of the side room originally continued northward to join the foundations north of the large room; excavation beneath the floor of the latter room (III *a*) might well disclose the continuity of the foundations (see above, p. 125).

In front of the prosthais three poros blocks of irregular length and width, hollowed on top, were laid to form a shallow gutter in the court. The line of these blocks is not quite parallel with that of the house wall; it does not reach to the east edge of the prosthais; and it is continued westward only by irregular stones laid to guide the flow of water to an opening, 0.15 m. wide and 0.40 m. high, purposely built in the party wall. Between the gutter and the prosthais was a composition pavement which spread beyond the gutter toward the east, while a row of blocks in line with the face of the house wall formed an irregular step from the level of the pavement about three centimeters below, to the sill of the prosthais, seventeen centimeters above. Elsewhere the court was roughly paved with poor mortar and chips of stone, except for an area of cobblestones in the eastern part.

WEST HOUSE (II)

In spite of the fact that the lot in which the west house was built is the most regular of the three in the block,—a simple rectangle of approximately ten by twenty meters,—the plan is the least intelligible. For there are not only the problems raised by earlier constructions, but it seems quite possible that the site was partially re-occupied after the desertion of the other houses, with the attendant confusion of makeshift alterations. As usual the court occupies the southern half of the area, the *oikos* the northern. The level of the court is very slightly lower than that of the others in the block, with the result that the sloping street C to the west, at about the same level near its northern end, is nearly a meter above it at the entrance gate, while the terrace wall at the south must have risen two meters or more above the court. The descent from the street to court is effected by three straight steps built of nondescript blocks, flanked by inward returns of the street wall, and with an irregularly curved platform serving as a fourth step at the bottom. A similar platform in the street at the top provides a raised approach to the first step; on this the threshold of the gate—if there was one—must have been placed. Two structures were built in the southern corners of the court against the terrace wall, that to the west (II f), a simple storage shed or stable about 2.60 m. by 3.40 m. inside, without any threshold to the door, and that to the east (II g), the “*pyrgos*,” with “*andron*” topped by a second story. The “*andron*” is considerably smaller than in the other houses in the block, being only 2.75 m. by 3.75 m. inside. No composition floor was found and the sill of the doorway, which, as elsewhere, faces west, is made of two ill-matched pieces of poros without any rabbet and with hinge holes placed well toward the outer face. But thanks to the shelter of the terrace wall in the southeast corner, about one running meter of plaster was found in place at the base of the east wall, and two meters on the south wall, and more was preserved on the earth floor where it had fallen. The fact that the plaster was not applied directly to the stone but to a ground coat of clay doubtless favored its detachment; without a roof above rain would quickly loosen it. It is there-

fore evident that the room must have been filled with wreckage from the terrace above almost as soon as the roof was broken; perhaps one catastrophe accomplished all. Where preserved the wall decoration consisted of a horizontal band of patterned or marbled panels set about a meter above the floor, crowning a dado of panels, probably white, divided by three incised lines 0.034 m. apart. Plaster on the upper wall was colored red. In some places the horizontal band appeared almost white, but this was probably due to fading. Some of the fallen plaster was yellow, suggesting that the upper wall was not wholly red but may have been broken into large areas of different colors. The second story was reached by a stone stairway built against the terrace wall. Three steps and part of a fourth are preserved; probably the whole flight was built of stone. The run and rise are equal, *ca.* 0.19 m. by 0.19 m. There could then have been twelve treads in the distance from the face of the bottom step to the face of the wall, with a consequent height of about 2.45 m. Another step in the thickness of the wall would give something over 2.60 m. as the height from floor to floor, quite adequate for a room of its size. A few stones that suggest a wall before the door probably belong to an earlier construction; doubtless there was no portico nor balcony here.

The "*oikos*" complex to the north of the court comprises the customary four parts. A wall running north and south divides the area in two. In the west half, to the north, lies what is presumably the main room (II *a*), approximately 5.00 m. square. Nothing above floor level is left of the rear wall, northern end of the west wall, or the northern half of the east wall; and of the south wall, though the part west of the doorway is preserved, the threshold and all above the foundation but a stump of the wall to the east of the doorway have disappeared. Before this room lies what may be considered the *prostas* (II *b*), *ca.* 2.80 m. deep. The opening to the court is all at the eastern side, *ca.* 2.75 m. wide. The curb, so far as preserved, consists of an old poros doorsill set on edge (Fig. 19), pieced out with a small poros block at the west. What is most curious is that the front wall turns inward at the west side of the opening to form a sort of sheltered alcove—perhaps for cooking—within the *prostas* II *b*. As a special convenience a terracotta drain pipe was built in the front wall, 0.25 m. above the pavement level outside and perhaps flush with the floor within.⁴²

The two rooms in the eastern half of the house were both nearly square and unusually large for secondary rooms, being 4.15 m. to 4.30 m. wide, with the northern room (II *c*, *c'*) *ca.* 4.40 m. deep, the southern one (II *d*, *d'*) *ca.* 4.80 m. It is possible that these two rooms did not form part of the house but constituted a separate unit—a shop perhaps—entered from the street to the north. If they did belong to the house the northern room must have been entered from the large room to its west (II *a*); from it in turn was the only entrance to the southern room. The sill to the doorway between the two consists of a fine large poros threshold block that has been set on

⁴² Cf. *Olynthus*, VIII, pp. 205-206.

edge (Fig. 19). The masonry on which its ends rest suggests that it is in its original location but has been tipped up in the course of a reconstruction to compensate for a rise of 0.20 m. to 0.30 m. in floor level, nearly to that of the prostas of the adjacent middle house. The wear on its upper edge indicates a considerable period of use in its present position. In its original position the hinge sockets would be on the south side of the threshold, that is, the doors would open into the southern room. The west-jamb wall of this doorway is faced on the south with rectangular blocks in three courses, the east-jamb wall is of small rubble up to the level of the top of the threshold as it lay in its first position, and above is roughly built of two courses of large irregular blocks. These upper courses doubtless belong with the floor level accompanying the tipped position of the sill, and may in turn be contemporary with the general layout of the block of houses resulting from completion of the stoa, since the top portion of the party wall separating this room from the middle house is also of larger stones than the part below. On the other hand, the west-jamb wall certainly is as old as the first position of the sill and might be considered earlier if it were not for the fact that the foundations support the threshold block only at its ends with no masonry between, indicating that there was never a continuous wall in this location. Across the room to the north of this division, however, there is a wall parallel to it (between II c and II c', Pl. XI), which has every appearance of being later. Not only is its location, dividing the square room, anomalous, but its eastern section, poorly built of small stones and preserved to a height of *ca.* 0.30 m. above the top of the up-tipped sill, rests on earth and abuts the larger stone construction of the party wall without any bonding. But 0.30 m. below the bottom of this late wall there is another wall on the same line, much better built and including in its masonry a certain amount of poros. In the western part of the room the upper wall, poorly built and preserved little, if at all, above the floor level, is laid directly upon the lower wall, with no intervening layer of earth. For purposes of dating, particular importance attaches to two bronze coins found just north of the eastern section of wall, at a depth *ca.* 0.20 m. below the bottom of the upper wall and *ca.* 0.10 m. above the top of the lower one, i. e., at about the floor level belonging to the tipped sill. Both are coins of Colophon to be dated between *ca.* 330 and *ca.* 285 B.C.⁴³ Likewise in the southwest corner of the large western room (II a) three other fourth-century bronze coins were found in a pot, on or near the floor level. It can be assumed that these had remained in place from the abandonment of the house, unlike the many coins found on the site which may have slipped or been washed from place to place. Two are dated *ca.* 330-285 B.C., one *ca.* 389-*ca.* 350 B.C.

In order to determine the chronology of building periods on the acropolis, the northeast corner of the eastern room II d of the western house was excavated rapidly

⁴³ Milne, Period V, Group C: *Num. Notes and Mon.*, No. 96, pp. 67-69, 70-72.

to virgin soil, which was reached at that point approximately three and a half meters below the grade at the commencement of the excavations. No clearly marked floor or sharp stratification was found but field notes permit a schematic correlation of walls and earth levels (Fig. 22). Just above stereo a bit of a gold ornament and a blackened area were found, indicating a floor at this level. Then for a height of perhaps 1.20 m. the earth contained only early sherds—one fine one with a geometric pattern and part of a goose, *ca.* 0.20 m. above stereo, others with groups of dots and angular parallel lines, and pieces of “marbled ware,” characteristic Lydian pottery decorated with thin varnish in wavy combed bands,⁴⁴ all belonging to the seventh and early sixth centuries, the period of Lydian occupation. Between 1.40 m. and 1.80 m. above stereo there were many broken tiles and stones and in one section oyster shells and other shells, the earth at the top of this region being very sandy. In the succeeding layer from 1.80 m. to 2.10 m. above stereo, there was little pottery except the head of a fourth-century figurine; the earth continued sandy. From 2.10 m. to 2.50 m. above stereo, there were both early sherds and sherds of fine polished black ware with stamped patterns, in earth that contained much red clay. The black ware obviously dated from the fourth century; nothing to bridge the gap from the sixth century had been found. In this upper stratum six coins appeared, one from Klazomenai, one from Magnesia on the Meander, and four from Colophon of the first half of the fourth century. From 2.50 m. above stereo to the level of the ground before excavation, all finds were of the fourth century.

The sequence of adjacent walls has had to be reconstructed largely from photographs. At the bottom of the pit, resting on stereo, there was a wall running east and west across the middle of the room, with another meeting it at right angles running northward approximately on the line of the party wall above (Pl. XI, ξ, indicated in open line). These two walls stand for a height of roughly 1.30 m. in earth which contained only early sherds, and these infrequent except near the bottom. It can hardly be doubted that these walls formed part of some structure built in the seventh or sixth century, with a floor some twenty centimeters above stereo. On the north side of the pit the cross wall (ο) between II *c'* and II *d*, the north and south rooms of this section of the house, is carried down at least as far as the top of the walls just mentioned, and perhaps below it—the level of the bottom is unrecorded—that is, to a depth of about 1.00 m. or more below the bottom of the tipped threshold block, an unusual depth for house foundations. Moreover, as has been said, the absence of masonry directly beneath the threshold indicates that an older doorway in an older wall has been rebuilt at a higher level. The floor level which accompanied the older door must have passed not far above the top of the sixth-century cross wall ξ and eliminated anything that may have been standing above that level. The east wall of

⁴⁴ H. C. Butler, *A.J.A.*, XVIII, 1914, p. 435, fig. 8.

the room rests upon the top of the older wall, though its direction is slightly different. Above this second floor level—about 1.40 m. above stereo—fragments of roof tile begin to appear.

Another cross wall (π) begins at the level of the top of the sixth-century wall (ξ) slightly south of its line and at a somewhat different angle. It might therefore

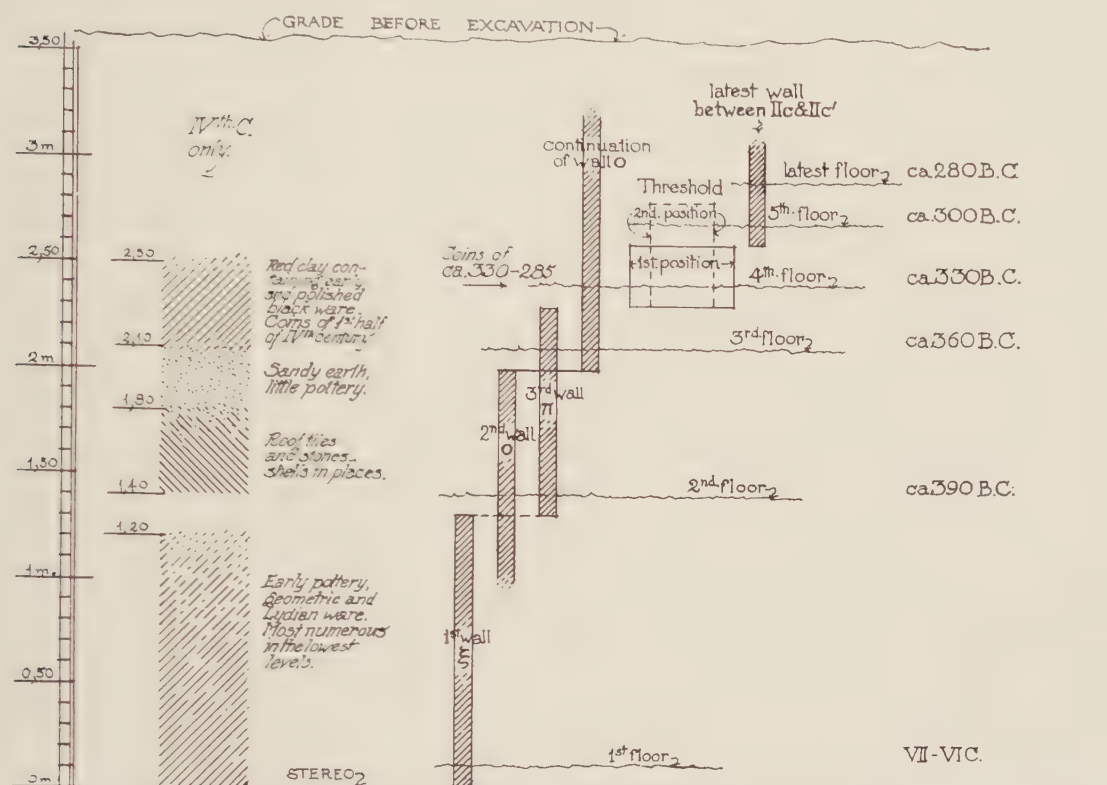


Fig. 22. Diagrammatic Section of Pit Dug to Stereo in West House.
All Levels and Dates are Approximate Only

be supposed to be contemporary with the second wall (σ)—the one with the door—were it not that it lies too close to it to form a reasonable part of the same complex. Since the general tendency shown in the Colophonian houses is toward square rooms, it seems much more probable that the north wall of the room of which this third wall formed the southern boundary was the lower part of the wall cutting across the north room between II c and II c' ; but as the north room was excavated to only a little below the latest floor level, this relationship is merely an assumption. If the assumption is correct, there would be a floor level belonging to this third wall (π) between twenty and eighty centimeters above the top of the first wall (ξ), and perhaps ten centimeters less above the second floor level. The second wall (σ) would have had to be cut

off at this height so that the new floor could be carried across it, while the side wall at the east would continue standing.

Beneath the level of this hypothetical third floor the earth contained, as has been said, many broken tiles mixed with large stones—presumably wall tumble—and sandy soil. The inference is that the house of the third floor level was a rebuilding following an earthquake or landslide, with the wreckage of walls and roof of the house of the second floor filled in and levelled off with about thirty centimeters of sandy earth. But as wall number three (π), which would belong with the third floor, stops 0.20 m. above, there must have been a fourth floor level at about that point. The wall accompanying this fourth floor re-established the line of wall number two (σ), at the north side of the pit, going down just below the third floor, i. e., 0.40 m. below the new one, to continue the structure of the older wall. Corbels were built inward from the jambs of the older doorway in wall (σ) to carry the ends of the large poros threshold, originally laid flat. At this time the wall across the room to the north would be eliminated. Finally comes the floor level for which the threshold was tipped up. And possibly at this time, or more probably at a still later period when most of the walls in the vicinity had tumbled, the poor wall across the north room was built, its doorsill, if it had a door, marking a level above that of the tipped-up threshold. An evidence of reoccupation found in the southeast corner of the room (II c) of which the presumably latest cross wall formed the southern side, near the bottom of the stone work—therefore at the floor level—and close enough to the wall to be protected from landslides from the south, was a cache consisting of a large bronze ring, a bronze handle, numerous iron implements, including a hatchet blade, and three bronze Colophonian coins of the late fourth and early third century.⁴⁵ At approximately the same depth—actually 0.05 m. lower—a large two-handled stamnos was found, and a little to the west, a few centimeters higher, two more Colophonian bronze coins of ca. 330-ca. 285 B.C. The cache is the sort of collection that might be made among the ruins of a deserted city. In front of the late cross wall at its western end, the earth was blackened by quantities of burned material, and here as well as to the north of the wall numerous fragments of rough pottery were found.

On correlating the minor finds with this schedule of rebuilding, it becomes apparent that the first cross wall and side wall were built in the period of Lydian domination, and from the number of early sherds found even in higher strata we must conclude that there was at that time a considerable settlement upon the hill. But the complete lack of any later pottery before that of the fourth century combined with the depth of earth (1.20 m.) accumulated between the first and second floor levels, in which early sherds alone are found, indicates long desertion of the site after perhaps a rather brief period of occupation. Possibly the early occupation marked an attempt to insure the independence of the city by fortifying the acropolis after the overthrow

⁴⁵ Milne, Period V, ca. 330-ca. 285 B.C., Groups A, C: *Num. Notes and Mon.*, No. 96, pp. 63-72.

of the Lydian power in 546 B.C., an attempt abandoned when Colophon was reconquered by Harpagos for the Persian king a decade or two later.

Between the second and third floor levels the presence of early ware and roof tiles was noted. The roof tiles are probably not to be connected with a sixth-century house or they would have been found at a lower level. Between the third and fourth floor levels were the coins, mentioned above, of the first half of the fourth century, and fragments of black stamped ware. The fourth floor should be dated therefore about 350 B.C. or a little later, the second and third somewhat earlier in the century and the fifth, contemporary with the building of the stoa, probably within a decade before or after 300 B.C.

As for the possible period of reoccupation of the house, the only clue is the coinage found on the acropolis. Of 362 recognizable coins only two, a silver Colophonian coin of Persic standard and an electrum piece from Lesbos, can be dated earlier than the fourth century and only sixteen can be assigned with assurance to dates later than 285 B.C. These are, in order of date, eight coins of Antiochus II (261-246), two coins of Pergamum (284-263?), one coin of Colophon (Notion, 2nd century), one coin of Smyrna (2nd-1st centuries), one of Chios (after 84 B.C.?), a Byzantine coin of the fourth century after Christ, and an Austrian Kreutzer piece dated 1816. The coins of Antiochus II are the only ones in sufficient quantity to suggest a reoccupation. In his time remains of the houses, deserted and perhaps ruined thirty or forty years earlier, might still tempt to desultory rebuilding on the old walls. Four of these coins were found scattered in the earth above the "*andron*" (IV i) of the eastern house on the west terrace, two in a trench on the hillside above the west terrace, one in the sanctuary on the east side of the hill, and one in the front wall of the *prostas* of the house under consideration, near the point where the drain from the *prostas* to the court passes through it.

A further indication of various building periods is given by the technique of the walls. It has been observed that the south face of the cross wall west of the tipped-up threshold (between II c' and II d) is made of rectangular blocks dressed to a flat face (Fig. 19), while the wall to the east of the doorway is for the lower half of the sill height of small rubble stone work indistinguishable from that below, with two very irregular courses of large uncut blocks above. These last, as has been said, doubtless belong with the fifth-floor level, while the smaller rubble and the cut blocks probably were placed with the fourth floor. The west face of the wall between II b and II d is also made of flat-dressed rectangular blocks (Fig. 19). The lowest row of blocks is *ca.* 0.40 m. high and rests on rubble foundations, then comes a row of blocks *ca.* 0.20-0.25 m. high, and above this course are remains of small-scale rubble. Evidently when the wall was built the ground level to the west was at or near the bottom of the large blocks. But in the *anta* prolonging the wall southward, also built of flat-dressed rectangular blocks, the bottom line has been raised about 0.20 m., and beneath the *anta*

there are no foundations. Presumably the main body of the wall belongs to the fourth floor level of pre-stoa date, while the anta is a post-stoa addition—belonging with the fifth floor level—built of re-used blocks. Of the latter date, probably, is the south wall of II *d'*, though a threshold block built into it on edge (Fig. 19) and the foundations are doubtless older. Why this wall should be so much wider than the normal house wall—0.65 m. as opposed to 0.40 m.—is a mystery. It is possible that it merely fitted wide foundations which had been built not for a normal wall but for a wide poros sill perhaps bearing columns. Other examples of squared masonry, which may be survivals from pre-stoa constructions, are found in the north and west walls of the *prostas*. The west face of this west wall along street C, though it was the street wall of the house, is of rubble to the south of the rear wall of the *prostas*, but north of that point is built of rectangular blocks, including some of poros, which increase in size in the northern part of the wall. It would appear that the northern section of this wall is post-stoa construction re-using pre-stoa material, while the section along the *prostas* is of an earlier period. It should be noted that there is no bond between these two sections. Perhaps the line of the street itself dates only from the later reorganization.

Directly in front of the *prostas* is a section of cobblestone pavement (Fig. 19), which, because of its high level—nearly even with the *prostas* sill—cannot be a survival from an early period. Presumably it once covered the whole area between the east section of the house, the west wall, and the steps from the street into the court. Along the south side of this area and cutting diagonally across its southeast corner to empty into a large drain in the street outside, is a surface gutter, cut in irregular blocks of poros. This is a continuation of a section of gutter, made of three long poros blocks, lying south of the east part of the house, which in turn receives, through a hole built in the party wall, the surface drainage from the court of the middle house. A variety of techniques is shown in the blocks which form this gutter. The three blocks in the eastern part of the court are well cut and of nearly equal length (1.35 m., 1.45 m., 1.50 m. from east to west). Along the north side of each is a raised band *ca.* 0.13 m. wide, as if a sill or the edge of a wall were to be set upon it; the main area of the gutter, about 3 centimeters lower, is *ca.* 0.38 m. wide, and beyond it is an irregular margin of the block a centimeter or so lower still, evidently intended to be covered by the plastered surface of an adjoining pavement. The trough in section is a slightly flattened semicircle fifteen to eighteen centimeters wide, with rounded edges. The distance between the trough and the raised band is but half that to the other edge. The three gutter blocks in the middle house and the remainder in the west house court are all shorter, irregular in length and width, apparently random blocks recut, without raised band for superstructure or depressed edge for overlap of pavement. Moreover the cutting of the trough in these others is rough throughout, and while in some places it is wider than in the three long blocks, it degenerates to a simple V cutting on the

four blocks at the bend by the entrance steps to the west house, where it would be particularly liable to overflow. On the basis of workmanship alone one would be inclined to associate the three long stones with the pre-stoa limestone ashlar work, and the rest with the later revision. In that case the three long blocks must have been reset, since the later level is about 0.20 m. higher than the earlier. But it is doubtful if they were moved far; their good preservation and neat jointing suggest that they were not subject to much handling. Furthermore, it may be noted that while the combined length of the three is too great to reach from the party wall at the east to the east side of the anta, and too little to reach to the west side of the anta, it just agrees with the interior width of the room to the north (II d). This suggests that in a former arrangement the west wall of this room continued south across the court, perhaps to the line of stones before the entrance to the "*andron*." It is also possible that the gutter originally lay *ca.* 1.40 m. farther north and that the unusual width of the wall there results from foundations that were intended to carry a normal wall or sill with this gutter running along its foot. These suggestions add little information about the pre-stoa arrangement of the area, nor could any reconstruction of the earlier plan be attempted without further excavating below the upper level, but all indications confirm the theory that construction of the stoa was accompanied by an extensive rebuilding of the whole east end of the west terrace, with a general alteration of plans, and perhaps a conversion of the functions of structures. These alterations were accompanied by a distinct technical degeneration, caused perhaps by the amount of work to be done, and aided by the amount of old material to be re-used.

Other variations in building technique are shown in the long stretch of retaining wall which supported the upper terrace at the south of the block. In general plan it appears as a straight line; originally it was doubtless of an approximately even height, averaging something under three meters, but closer examination shows several distinct divisions. At the west, the section stretching from the wall of the west shed in the west house to within a few centimeters of the party wall between the west and middle houses (Pl. XI, 1) is built of large rectangular conglomerate blocks with rough-hewn faces, set in regular courses to a true front line. Then to the eastward comes a stretch twice as long (Pl. XI, 2), built of large and smaller unworked limestone pieces laid in what is now, and probably always was, a slightly undulating line. At its western end this stretch is partly masked, as previously mentioned, by the base of another wall seemingly of similar technique resting on native rock, and adjoining this, by an older structure of uncertain form made partly at least of large rectangular blocks *ca.* 0.30 × 0.40 × 0.60 m. in size, set about a core of native rock. The extreme western end of the terrace wall, not shown on plan, running from the street to the ashlar section first mentioned, is of a technique similar to that of the long middle section. This middle section continues eastward to a point opposite the face of the portico of the "*andron*" of the middle house, where it stops with a joint running clear through the

wall. A meter farther east there is a similar joint, but the stone work between the two (Pl. XI, 3), as well as that to the east (Pl. XI, 4), is all of small rubble laid without much care and with quite an irregular front line. In chronological sequence, the vanished structures enclosing native rock in the western section of the middle-house court might be the oldest, with the stretch of square masonry to the left (1) contemporary or next in order. Then, with the removal of the oldest structures comes the extension of the terrace wall on the line of the squared masonry, west to the street and eastward along the middle court (2); and finally this was completed to the paved street at the east (3, 4).

Before the *prostas*, at the far side of the court of the west house, stood an "altar" like that in the east house, though somewhat smaller (*ca.* 0.65 m. on a side), made of four rough stones set on edge, enclosing a sunken basin filled with earth and stone. South of it was a small area showing evidence of fire. Just to the southwest of the altar a well or cistern was found, the shaft built irregularly of stone, and the curb, above ground, formed of sections of a large broken pithos. A terracotta pipe was inserted below grade on the eastern side, but whether this was to conduct water into or out of the well was not determined. The well filled quickly with water apparently rising through the sandy bottom. Even before excavation the earth above this area was moister than elsewhere and of a dark slatey color. Another well, evidently dating from an earlier period, was found partly built over by the stone stairs of the "*pyrgos*." This one was square in plan, well built of even blocks which were somewhat blackened as if by fire. As it was full of water little excavation was attempted, but simple cleaning revealed the end of a terracotta pipe built into the north side. Still a third structure seems to have formed part of the hydraulic system of the west house. This was a cistern, formed of a terracotta drum *ca.* 0.55 m. in diameter, sunk in the ground close to the northwest corner of the "*pyrgos*." Below the ground level were three round openings. In that to the south was a pipe which apparently formed part of the cylinder; this may have formed a connection with the pipe in the square well to the south. The opening at the west side had also been connected with a pipe, but this had fallen away and was found at a slightly lower level. Possibly this led to or from the well to the west. No pipe was found by the third opening, in the eastern side, and it is possible that this hole was purely accidental. Apparently the cistern was intended to receive water from the two wells, but why wells should overflow or why the excess water should be saved instead of being conducted directly to the street is not clear. Possibly in flood season the water became roiled and the cistern was used as a settling basin. The broken rim of a large pithos served as a curb around it.

At the east end of the yard was the lower part of a very large pithos slightly over a meter in diameter, standing upon the ground (Fig. 19 and Pl. XI); the broken rim was found near by. To the west, in the angle south of the entrance from the street,

was the rim (diameter *ca.* 0.30 m.) of a small pithos. A shallow circular basin 0.75 m. in diameter, hollowed out of poros, was found tipped on edge against the east side of the anta projecting from the south wall of the house. It is possible that this basin once stood upon the anta, but it is not at all certain. It may well be that it reached its present position from quite another building higher up the hill.

Throughout the earth with which the yard was covered there were quantities of broken roof tiles, including at least one hypethral tile toward the west (see above, p. 128, note 28), and an unusual number of well-finished poros building blocks which had evidently fallen from above. One of these, found directly upon the pithos rim of the western well, and doubtless somewhat responsible for its smashing, had a drafted and rusticated surface with flat face but rounded edges, and on one surface a lewis hole, suggesting that it came from a building of considerable size.

STRUCTURES ON UPPER TERRACE (I)

In the hope of finding the source of some of this poros material, it was decided, toward the end of the season, to explore a section above the southern retaining wall. Naturally nothing was found close above the latter, as the earth as well as the top of the wall itself had been carried away well below the floor level of any structures that had stood there. But on the prolongation of the wall (*ca.* 0.60 m. wide) along street C, about 6.75 m. south of the face of the terrace wall, a sill block *ca.* 1.25 m. long was uncovered, and after an interval of *ca.* 1.15 m. another sill *ca.* 1.50 m. long lay in the same continuous line (Figs. 23, 24). At the north edge of the first sill a heavy wall ran eastward. Between the ends of the two sills and set back half a meter from the street was a poros block 0.75 m. square which served as the mouth of a well (Figs. 23, 24). This block was 0.80 m. high, set half above the ground. Down through it a reasonably smooth circular shaft 0.55 m. in diameter was cut, and beneath it the well, built square of moderate-size uncut stones, continued to a depth of 2.60 m. below the top of the stone. In it a small bronze vessel was found ten centimeters from the bottom, at a depth of 2.00 m. two large stone balls (0.20 m. and 0.22 m. in diameter), and at a depth of 1.50 m. to 2.00 m. the fragments of a large pointed-bottom amphora. The top of the well block was smooth, but the sides were roughly hewn. The lip was chipped but showed no sign of rope marks. Between well and street was a low mass of limestone rubble, like the base of a wall; and running directly east, its south face flush with that of the well block, was another rubble wall only *ca.* 0.40 m. wide. At a point *ca.* 3.00 m. east of the street, a terracotta pipe was found running into the south side of this wall, and just beyond, a meter or so of wall *ca.* 0.50 wide, running south. The north end of this last wall was not uncovered, nor were the light wall from the well and the heavy one north of it traced farther to the east. The two sills were narrow, unrabbeted, about 0.25 m. wide, and showed no cuttings for hinge sockets or bolts, though squared jamb bases stood upon their ends. At the south end of the

south sill a 0.40 m. wall closed the end of the street. It continued eastward for a little over a meter beyond the sill, and at the west side of the street turned at right angles and ran, apparently as a party wall continuing the west line of the street, southward for 5.75 m. to the massive retaining wall which set a southern limit to the terrace. This retaining wall (Fig. 25), now preserved in places to a height of over three meters, probably rose originally at least a meter more to the terrace above. It is made of roughly hewn rectangular blocks, of sizes ranging up to 0.75 m. \times 1.00 m. on the face. A meter and a half south of the wall which closes the street a wall between I i and I j, Fig. 23 (*ca.* 0.60 m. wide), runs parallel to it for 4.25 m. eastward from the party wall, where it seemed to come to a definite end, though as no thorough investigation



Fig. 23. Excavations on Upper Terrace at South End of Street C

was made farther east this is not certain. Finally, a little over three and a half meters still farther south, a wall *ca.* 0.50 m. wide was built directly against the terrace wall, apparently to hold the timbers of some large, perhaps two-story, building. A curious detail is that this rear wall stops in a carefully built square end, one meter east of the party wall; while projecting eastward from the latter, perhaps a meter to the north, is a spur wall as long as the gap. It would seem that for some reason a hole (Fig. 23, I k), about a meter square, was left in the roof or upper floor, if there was one, in the southwest corner of the building. Without further investigation speculation as to the original form or function of this building is of little value, but on the basis of what was uncovered it seems possible that backed against the terrace wall stood a two-storied portico, with a closed section at the west end I j, at the front of which was a wooden stairway in the space I i. In front of such a building there would naturally be an open court, and to the north of it, reaching to the north edge of the terrace, there may have been another portico facing south (I f), in this case but one story high and perhaps with central supports for a roof sloping to north and to south. It is possible that the east end of the south wall of such a portico is to be seen in the fragmentary foundations uncovered on the terrace south of the fore-court to the middle house (Pl. IX). The double sill would mark a covered entrance from the street to the court, the southern one giving access to the stairway of the two-storied portico. The well may have had some superstructure above it or may have formed a receiving pit for waste water from some vanished lavabo. As to the function of the building, if the two stone balls found in the well and two others found in the building to the west (Fig. 26) did not come from a higher terrace, it might have been



Fig. 24. Well, Threshold, and Wall at Southern End of Street C,
from Northwest



Fig. 25. "Poros House" and Adjacent Structure to the East, Looking South-
east Toward Wall of Higher Terrace

a palaistra. For these balls must be either missiles for war machines, which in the fourth century is improbable, or implements made for weight throwing or some other sort of athletic sport, like that for which the large stone balls found in the Stabian baths at Pompeii were used.⁴⁶

POROS HOUSE (I a-c)

On the west, at the end of the street, is the entrance to another establishment, presumably a private house, which in material and technique was superior to any other found (Fig. 23). Unfortunately the northern half had been carried away, down to or below the original floor level, and when it was discovered, the season was so far advanced that only a part of the area could be uncovered. Even that part was not surveyed or carefully studied. The street wall, like that at the end of the street, seems to have been faced on the outside with squared limestone blocks, though hardly a stone of this remained in place. The threshold was a well-cut poros block, of just the width of the wall, obviously not re-used but cut for its position (Fig. 26). On the top were two square holes for wooden door jambs and at the ends of a rabbet along the western edge (Fig. 25) two rectangular holes for hinge sockets. A few centimeters below was a second step, cut from a single poros block slightly wider than the threshold and continuing some 0.60 m. beyond it to the south. This step in turn was barely 0.10 m. above the level of the court. The court (Fig. 23, I c) was paved with irregular flat stones over which was a layer of very hard composition. On the left as one enters was a platform of cut poros, ca. 4.00 m. long from east to west, ca. 1.25 m. wide and raised ca. 0.25 m. above the court (Figs. 23 and 25, I d). An anta preserved for two courses (ca. 0.30 m. wide) projected west for the width of the lower entrance step. It was finished on its western face with an orthostate. To the south of the platform lay a room about 3.25 meters square (I e), apparently corresponding to the "andron" in the other houses excavated, but different in that it faced north instead of west and apparently carried no second story. Within the area of this room much red plaster was found, but none in situ. Near the north wall, at floor level, were the two stone balls previously mentioned (Fig. 26, lower left). The outside face of the wall was built of carefully cut poros ashlar with a picked surface dressing and bevelled edges at the joints. Probably a very thin coat of plaster smoothed and whitened it all. In place of anathyrosis the blocks were roughly broken away at the back of the ends, so that there was contact of one block with another for only a few centimeters along the front edge of the vertical joint. The top surface sloped down slightly toward the back, to assure close contact along the front edge of horizontal joints. The back of the blocks was left quite unshaped to meet the inner rubble face of the wall. There

⁴⁶ Mau, *Pompeji in Leben und Kunst*, 1900, p. 174. "Zwei schwere Steinkugeln . . . bestimmt . . . auf der Bahn gerollt zu werden: eine unserem Regelspiel ähnliche Übung." Maiuri, *Pompei* ("Visioni Italiane"), p. 47, shows another stone ball in the court of the Forum Baths

were no dowels or clamps on blocks in situ, but a block with a cutting for a hook clamp was found in the earth in front of the platform. It may well have fallen from an upper terrace. At the east end the north face was preserved for two courses above the platform. It is probable that only the lower part of the wall was faced with poros, as few blocks of this material were found lying in the area. Among the loose pieces found on the platform or in the court before it were several sections of poros door trim with three flat faciae on the face (Fig. 25). The setting lines for the jambs,



Fig. 26. "Poros House," Looking Northwest Toward Sill of Prostas with Excavations of Bathing Establishment Beyond on Lower Terrace. In Extreme Lower Right Corner, Blocks of Stone Well; in Extreme Lower Left, Two Stone Balls. Upper Center, Baths; Upper Left, Poplar Trees (5) at End of Terrace. Compare Fig. 8

preserved on the door sill, show the opening to have been 0.90 m. wide. A poros anta cap suitable for the anta on the platform was also found, and a poros Ionic capital of corresponding size (Figs. 25, 26). The anta cap was crowned with the usual mouldings above a broad, very flat facia: the capital was completely shaped, but volutes and abacus were left as plain surfaces, probably originally painted; in the bottom was a dowel hole. The capital was found lying upside down on the pavement of the court at the north end of the entrance step. It might have come from an upper terrace, but seems more likely to have been a corner support for the roof above the poros platform I *d*. The entablature was doubtless of wood. A clear span of nearly three meters is perfectly suitable in wood construction though over wide for classic stone proportions. One column between anta and pier or column at the northwest corner is

conceivable, but the only other piece of a capital that came to light was a Doric fragment, which doubtless came from the terrace above. On the east end of the platform two sections of poros column shaft were found, and just to the north of the platform another two (Fig. 25). These were neither drawn nor studied, but photographs show them to have been quite smooth on the surface, perhaps originally constituting a single monolith or at most two stones. The visible ends may be square breaks or cut ends that have been chipped; no dowel holes are to be seen. The total length of the four sections can be estimated at between 2.00 m. and 2.50 m.; the width seems to vary between something under 0.20 m. to 0.30 m. or a little more, the sections found on the platform having the larger diameter. The smaller diameter appears rather too small for the Ionic capital, but possibly part or all of the shaft may have belonged with it. A single poros block from the eaves of this or some other building, found here, gives some details of roof construction. The block is 0.80 m. long and 0.43 m. wide. At one end and at the rear (0.14 m. high) it is dressed smooth. On the bottom it is roughly chipped to a plane, indicating that it capped a rubble wall rather than one of cut stone. For 0.075 m. along the front edge the bottom was dressed and smoothed for projection beyond the face of the wall. The projecting part sloped downward *ca.* 0.01 m. to the front. The front face was a smooth facia 0.085 m. high, inclined forward about a half centimeter from the vertical. The top has a slope of about 1 in 7. It is roughly chipped except for a smooth band 0.03 m. wide along the front edge, for contact with the tile above. A similar band extends across the front edge of the roughly chipped end of the cornice, as an anathyrosis, but as it does not return at the bottom of the projecting part the joint on the soffit could not have been tight. At the back of the upper surface there is a rough band (0.12-0.13 m. wide) which stands about 0.02 m. higher than the rest of the top slope. In this are two roughly smoothed cuttings (0.02 m. deep and 0.08 m. wide) for the ends of rafters; these are 0.31 m. on centers, probably indicating two rafters to a tile if the spacings were related. The roof above this cornice probably had a pitch of about 1 in 4; it could not have been much greater or less. Many of the tile roofs of Degirmendere have much the same pitch at the present day.

On the north side of the entrance from the street, the wall against which the north jamb abuts runs west at a slightly obtuse angle to the entrance wall and step for a distance of four meters from the inner face of the threshold (Fig. 26). Here it turns north. It is faced on the court side with regular poros ashlar blocks about 0.60 m. long, with picked surface. Two courses are preserved in situ. Possibly there were never more. A single corner block of a third course was found slightly out of place at the north end of the threshold: this, however, may have been simply the return of the second course of the wall along the street which lay at a higher level. The north side of the wall is of limestone rubble. At the west corner a large poros block, two courses in height and of the full thickness of the wall, projects some 0.30 m.

westward like the base of an anta, and beyond it a poros sill of several blocks, *ca.* 0.30 m. wide and rising only a little above the court, continues the line to the west for perhaps four meters more. Here excavation stopped, and probably the sill stopped also at about this point.

The wall running north from the east end of this sill between I *a* and I *b* consists of two courses of poros the full width of the wall but not more than 0.50 m. in length. Then comes a poros threshold block *ca.* 1.75 m. long, like the entrance threshold with square socket holes for the jambs, low rabbet with rectangular hinge holes, and raised surface at the end where it was to be built into the wall. This threshold has clearly not been re-used. North of it the wall has been destroyed. To all appearances we have in the long sill the entrance to a southward facing *prostas* with the entrance to a bedroom (I *b*) at the east end, exactly as in the eastern and middle houses in the block on the terrace below. There would be room for a shed in the unexcavated southwest corner of the court but no place for an upper-story room unless it were above the shed. But if restored so, this house, though built with considerably more elegance, would be less extensive than its neighbors. On the other hand, the distance from the street to the west end of the *prostas* sill—about nine meters—is approximately the same as that from the north side of the entrance gate to the line of the retaining wall at the north, which would give the house the apparently usual square proportions. Also, as the distance between streets on this terrace is about 19 m. there would be just room for a second house of the same size adjoining it on the west. It is quite probable that the use of poros in the interior, with limestone ashlar on the street face of the walls, marks an earlier technique than that of all rubble or re-used material which the houses on the lower terrace show, and it may be assumed that the structures on this terrace and those above were little affected by the extensive changes which the building of the stoa entailed on the *plateia* level. Though less might be preserved, it may be that what could be found on and above this terrace would be of more interest than what was actually uncovered, as being of a slightly earlier period and better workmanship.

Another area on the same terrace to the northwest of the Poros House and reaching to the next street on the west (street B, Pl. IX) was investigated, but the remains there, like those on the same level, just to the west of the paved street D, were found to be so shallow as to present merely a confusion of fragmentary foundations of two or more periods. It is uncertain whether some of the walls formed part of the Poros House, with a small structure of a different nature on the next street, or whether they all belong to a separate house. Possibly if the excavation had been carried over the southern part of the terrace and connected with that of the Poros House, it would have become intelligible.

HOUSES EAST OF STREET D (V-VI)

The section lying between the paved street D and the west wing of the great stoa (Pl. X) was perhaps more seriously affected by the rebuilding programme than any other. The southern part of it, however, along the paved street, clearly formed a house of the usual type. At the entrance from the paved street is a poros threshold made of two re-used fragments. One circular iron hinge socket was still in place, set simply in earth in a much larger rectangular cutting. The nearly rectangular court (VI *e*; *ca.* 3.00 m. wide at the southwest end, and *ca.* 2.25 m. at the northeast) is approximately 6.00 m. deep. It was unpaved and contained no well, but just inside the entrance were remains of a large pithos, 1.10 m. in diameter, which may have served for water storage. On the southern side are two rooms with a continuous front wall. The west one (VI *f*; *ca.* 2.40 m. by 2.70 m.) had a sill made of three irregular blocks of poros, without cuttings, set to span the older drain beneath the room, and in one corner a section of plastered floor was preserved. The other (VI *g*) may have had a regular threshold, but only the foundations for it remain. Possibly a large dressed poros block, nearly square in section, which had been cut on one side for use as a threshold, and which at the time of excavation was found in the street outside the entrance (Fig. 17), had been removed from this location. A large part of the room is cut off diagonally by the rear wall of the stoa, against which it was built. In it the rim of a pithos was found upon the unpaved floor. The opposite side of the court is occupied by the house proper, an approximate rectangle averaging 6.20 m. by 6.80 m. divided into the usual four parts. The *prostas* (VI *b*) is an approximate square, 2.75 m. to 2.90 m. by 2.80 m. to 2.85 m., with a sill of re-used poros blocks, of which but two, out of a probable original three, remain. The opening was not more than 2.00 m. wide, with a spur wall (the end of which has almost disappeared) like an *anta* at the southwest end. The main room (VI *a*), also nearly square, 3.70 m. on a side, has as a threshold a poros block that once evidently served some other purpose (Fig. 17). It is 1.07 m. long by 0.37 m. wide, and approximately square in section, smooth on the front and on the one visible end, quite rough on the back, and on the top dressed with a shallow rabbet and the customary hinge hole, bolt hole, and one jamb hole. From its dimensions it would seem to have formed part of a lintel or an *anta* or jamb post before it was recut to serve as a threshold. It was set with almost its full height above the level of the *prostas* floor, and unless the floor within the main room was raised to a level near its top, so that it might serve as a step, it must have formed a serious obstacle to communication. Toward the rear part of the room, a large pithos (1.20 m. deep) is sunk in the earth. It was cracked in three places in antiquity and mended with 12 lead hook clamps inside, and 3 dovetail clamps on the rim; occasional holes were plugged with lead. Nothing of significance was found in

the earth within. As the level of the rim is perceptibly below the bottom of the threshold block, either the floor of the room must have sloped markedly to the rear, or, as seems more likely, the pithos must be associated with an earlier floor level, perhaps contemporary with the earlier street, which, it has been suggested, ran beneath the whole length of this house on an undetermined line. Unfortunately the side room (VI *c*), opening off the main room, seems never to have had a doorsill by which the floor level might be established. This side room, equal to the main room in one dimension (3.70 m.) is only 2.15 m. in depth. The front side room (VI *d*), on the other hand, is slightly deeper than wide (2.95 m. to 3.10 m. by 2.65 m. to 2.75 m.). Its doorsill is made of two pieces, probably re-used parts of two separate threshold blocks, as indicated by the difference in the cuttings for hinge sockets and jamb posts at the two ends. It is set level with the front sill of the *prostas*, therefore well below the top of the threshold of the main room.

In spite of the small size and relatively poor construction of this house, a certain effort at ostentation is evident, for the outside walls of the front side room (VI *d*), both that toward the *prostas* and that toward the court (visible on entering from the street) are made of re-used poros blocks. And these are not merely facing blocks to be backed with rubble, but make up the full thickness of the wall, *ca.* 0.40 m. Doubtless they formed the wall blocks of some earlier structure or structures, built entirely of poros, to which perhaps the sill to the main room, and that found in the street outside the entrance, also belonged. The easternmost of the wall blocks originally formed part of a circular or apsidal building, since its outer face is cut on a curve of *ca.* 2.30 m. radius. On the top there are cuttings for a hook clamp at each end, and a square dowel near the middle with an associated pry hole.

The plan of the house as a whole seems to present on a modest scale the most regular picture of what the essential parts of a Colophonian house of the end of the fourth century were and how they would be arranged if not controlled by pre-existing structures, for in this case, except for the side walls and the wall between the rooms to the south of the court, no lines seem predetermined. The house proper, or *oikos*, is evidently laid out as a square facing south, with a cross wall from east to west dividing it into front and rear sections in proportions to one another as 3 to 4. A square room is then laid off on one side of each section, giving a *prostas* of 3×3 and a main room of 4×4 units with *thalamoi* off each, having proportions of 3×4 and 4×3 units respectively. The roof would doubtless slope to front and rear from a transverse ridge above the cross wall. Consequently with a constant roof pitch the front or southern face of the house would be somewhat higher than the northern rear. This disposition may explain at once the dictum of Xenophon⁴⁷ that "the part of the house facing south should be built higher, the part facing north lower," and that of Aristotle⁴⁸ that a house "should be sheltered from the north and not be of equal

⁴⁷ *Memorabilia*, III, viii, 8 f.

⁴⁸ *Economics*, 1345 a.

breadth" (in its subdivisions); that is, the northern section should be broader—or deeper—than the southern one, with consequent lowering of the height of the north wall.⁴⁹

However, though the house proper seems unusually regular, the "*andron*" and "*pyrgos*" are certainly not disposed as they have been found elsewhere. The room which would seem to correspond best with the "*andron*" in other houses is that to the right of the entrance, in which there was a plastered floor. But aside from the fact that the room is much smaller than the "*androne*s" across the street, and faces northwest instead of west—which may be of no importance—it certainly bore no second story. On the other hand, in the corner of the court three steps lead across a retaining wall, on the line of the far side of the house, to a large irregular second yard behind the stoa (VI *h*). And starting from the retaining wall a flight of stone steps, similar to those seen elsewhere though less well preserved, mounted to a room above VI *d*. It is conceivable that the whole *oikos* was covered by a second story, but such a development in so small a house is much less likely than that there was but one second-story room, above the southeast corner of the building. It follows, then, either that the "*andron*" opened off the *prostas* in this instance, or that the *gynaikonitis* was not always above the "*andron*."

The curious angle at which the stairway is built against the northeast wall of the house is due to the fact that the northern part of this wall, from about the middle of room VI *d*, antedates the house and doubtless the stoa as well. From its square south end an opening, of indeterminate width, continued the line, and when the house was built, instead of filling in the opening to match the older wall, the stairway was run across it with a screen-like facing of slabs on the side toward the room. As the retaining wall at the northeast end of the court was not set exactly on the line of the older wall, the stairway bridging the gap between them was bias in regard to both.

The masonry of the stairway does not go below the level of the floor in the *prostas* and adjacent room. This together with the three steps up from the house court (VI *e*) indicates that the level of the eastern yard (VI *h*, V *i*, *j*) was at least half a meter above the latter, entirely covering all the remains of older pavements and construction that lay close behind the stoa (Fig. 15 and Pl. X). In its final stage the yard undoubtedly extended in an unbroken stretch to the line of wall south of V *h* that runs southwest from the point where the drain emerges from the rear wall of the stoa to reach, with an offset, the east wall of the house at about the middle of the rear side room (VI *c*). Actually neither this wall nor any other walls lying north or east of the house are preserved to the height of the final level of the yard, and the absence of doorways indicates that many of them have not been preserved even to the height of their original floor levels. Such being the case, it is profitless to try to determine the plans of the structures in this region in their various transformations, or even as

⁴⁹ See, however, Robinson and Graham, *Olynthus*, VIII, pp. 144-146.

they were in the final phase after the building of the stoa. It can be pointed out, however (Pl. X), that before the stoa was built there was an entrance into the area of the triangular yard from the northeast, by three or four steps down from the street of the terracotta drain (street F) which the stoa covered; also, that at some time a two-story structure had stood on the site of the second room of the stoa (VII *b*), the upper story of which, reached by a stone stairway from the triangular yard, may already have been abandoned before the stoa was built, though the lower room (V *j*), with its cobble pavement at a slightly lower level than the yard (V *i*), was probably still in use, related in some way perhaps to the paved room and portico below the south end of the stoa (VIII *a, b*). Even earlier—before the north boundary wall of the triangular yard and its return along the line of the terracotta drain were built—the east wall of the northernmost room of all (V *c*) probably continued south to a point near the wall that flanked the early stairway, with an entrance way between. At that time a line of stones, of which three are still in situ in the southern corner of V *h*, formed the curb of a portico or *prosta* before the large northern room, so that the whole complex may well have been a large house, with the room buried by the stoa (V *j*) the “*andron*” forming the lower story of a “*pyrgos*.” The small quadrangular room in the west corner of the yard (V *g*) might have been an addition at this period. There is little indication as to the function of the structures in this northern area after the stoa was built. If there was an entry from the lower town by an ascending road behind the stoa, they might conceivably have served as an inn. The three square rooms (V *d, e, f*) north of the house by the paved street would serve well as lodging rooms, but the purpose of what appear to be long, narrow rooms (V *a, b*) north of them is very obscure. It is barely possible that the northeast room (V *c*) had become a large court opening to the northeast directly toward the hypothetical ramping road behind the stoa, with a shallow portico (V *b*) at the west—the columns or posts resting on the wall that is an approximate continuation of the side wall of the house by the paved street—and behind it a similarly elongated main room (V *a*), the three bedrooms to the south opening off these. The remains of earlier paving previously noted in room V *d* lie *ca.* 0.80 m. below the tops of the surrounding walls. A few centimeters above this pavement and at the same level in the room to the east (V *e*) were heavy deposits of roof tiles beneath masses of tumbled wall stones, indicating destruction—perhaps by earthquake—at some period before the last rebuilding. Eventually there must have been an earth fill of over 0.80 m. in these square rooms and the narrow ones to the north, for though the walls stand to a height of 0.40 m. or more, above the level of the neighboring paved street, they still show no trace of doorways. The walls on the east, north, and west of room V *d* go down to the earlier pavement level, but that at the south stops *ca.* 0.30 m. above it, and rests simply on earth. This last wall continues thus all across the north end of room VI *a*, but its eastward section, forming the north wall of room VI *c*, rests on deep founda-

tions. These deep foundations may have formed a rectangular corner with a southward continuation across *V c* of the deep-lying wall under the long room to the north (*V b*), and this corner may have been the southwest corner of the rectangular area of an early *oikos* of which the northernmost foundations in this region formed the northeast corner.

HOUSES ON THE POINT (XI-XII)

It has already been noted (above, p. 103) that at the northern extremity of the north terrace an important early cobble-paved street, over two meters wide, ran on the line of the axis of the plateia, and that houses on the west side of this street were demolished and these foundations buried beneath the great stoa when the first part of its northern wing was built, while part of the street itself and a public structure of some sort lying to the east of it were similarly covered by the eastern section of this northern wing (Fig. 10). But north of the stoa the street continued in active use and houses on both sides continued to be rebuilt like the houses elsewhere on the acropolis. The northern end of the street has been washed and plowed off the edge of the hill, and of the northernmost houses only a few stones remain. This is true also for houses on the east and west shoulders of this terrace tip. Only at the southern end of the section, next to the stoa and next to the street, have remains of any completeness been preserved. Here there is one structure on each side of the street.

WEST HOUSE ON THE POINT (XI)

The foundations of the structure to the west are relatively intelligible, though preserved only to the height of a single stone in the western part, and scarcely higher along the street (Fig. 27). They date from two periods at least—before and after the building of the stoa—and, since they are rarely preserved above the later floor level, it is not always possible to determine which walls belong together. However, they all obviously belong to a house (Fig. 10), normal in arrangement and size of rooms, but with a much smaller court than those on the west terrace. This is partly due to the fact that the rear wall of the stoa touches what was probably the original south wall of the property, and as a consequence the house lot was curtailed by 1.00 m. to 1.50 m. when the stoa was built, in order to allow a passage east and west between it and the stoa. As compensation the house was extended northward along the main street for *ca.* 1.50 m. At the northwest corner of the house a scrap of wall which seems to lie on top of earlier walls may indicate that the lot was somewhat widened also. The entrance to the courtyard (XI *f*) was from the passage at the south rather than from the main street. Beyond the threshold, which had disappeared, lay a little vestibule *ca.* 1.45 m. wide and *ca.* 0.80 m. deep, with a rough sill of three poros blocks at the north side. The court was nearly square, 3.70 m. to 3.90 m. by 4.20 m. to 4.40 m., paved only with earth. To the east lay a room (XI *g*) nearly as large as the court,

with a good poros threshold block. This room, facing west, was probably the "*andron*." Within, north of the doorway, were remains of a large pithos that had stood against the wall. In the court a line of three small blocks, set on edge, prolongs the north line of the vestibule to the west for *ca.* 1.30 m. It is quite possible that between these and the south wall of the court was a steep wooden stairway, which crossed the top of the vestibule to a second-story room above the "*andron*." No other



Fig. 27. Street on Point, Looking South Toward North Wing of Stoa

reason for the existence of the vestibule is apparent. At the west, a long, narrow shed (XI *c*) flanks the court, while to the north lies the house proper. In the corner formed by the two is a square marble basin, 0.59 m. on a side, so set as to empty into a narrow trough drain which runs westward beneath the walls of the shed. The bottom of the drain is made of stone slabs with a narrow groove cut in them. In the south-east region of the court, part of an earlier pavement made of stone slabs covered with a stucco of lime and very fine pebbles was uncovered. It extended beneath the threshold of the "*andron*" from *ca.* 1.10 m. west of it to a point *ca.* 0.70 m. within the room, and from the northern end of the threshold to just under the northern sill of the vestibule. No definite edges of the lower floor are preserved. The later earth floor was packed above it on a layer of broken tiles and pottery. The *oikos* or house

proper occupies all the northern part of the lot. The east wall following the line of the street is not parallel to the west nor at right angles to the south wall. A wall parallel to the west wall divides the house from south to north into two parts, the west section being somewhat the wider. The southern part of the western section (XI *b*) constituted the *prostas* (*ca.* 3.70 m. by *ca.* 4.20 m.) with a sill of irregular cut poros blocks. It faced south toward the court with an opening *ca.* 2.60 m. wide. North of it lay the main room (XI *a*), *ca.* 4.20 m. by *ca.* 4.50 m. The sill and much of the wall separating the two western rooms had disappeared. The eastern section appears to be divided into a number of narrow trapezoidal rooms by walls equally well—or badly—preserved. In reality these walls must have belonged to two periods, two earlier walls, at right angles to the central north-south wall, lying 0.80 m. to 1.30 m. south of two later ones, which are at right angles to the street wall. As a result of the revision, the southeast room, opening from the *prostas*, originally XI *d'*, had added to it XI *d*, and had become almost as large as the main room of the house (XI *a*). None of the interior door sills are preserved; even their locations are not marked, but north of the north wall of the house, approximately on line with the central wall, is a poros door sill, set below the level of the later house walls, and from its northern jamb a wall runs west parallel to the north wall of the house, forming a passage *ca.* 1.35 m. wide. As the passageway north of the stoa gave access to the house we have just been considering, and probably to another adjoining it on the west, so the passage north of the house probably once served another house still farther north and its western fellow. The remains of the later walls in this region are too fragmentary to permit analysis.

EAST HOUSE ON THE POINT (XII)

The structure to the east of the cobblestone street (Fig. 10) is of about equal size but is far less intelligible than that to the west, as it shows evidence of at least three building periods, in some of which it may have extended east beyond the excavated remains, and probably it was never a house at all. The street wall presumably persisted through all changes, though it is uncertain whether in the latest period it actually abutted the rear of the stoa or left an open passageway to the east, with the present southern end buried beneath a raised street level. Some fifteen meters north of the rear corner of the stoa the street wall is interrupted by the large poros sill of a doorway, over a meter and a half wide between poros jamb posts (Fig. 27, lower left corner). Parallel walls, *ca.* 2.00 m. apart, ran eastward from the jambs for undetermined distances. Probably the wide passageway between them gave access to buildings to the north and east. North of the entrance the line of the street wall inclines slightly to the west. Between the stoa and the entrance five walls meet the street wall at right angles. The northernmost of these, flanking the passageway, forms an integral corner with it; the next one toward the south may also have been con-

structed in connection with it, but the three others, preserved to equal height, simply abut against the street wall with through joints at their ends. They may have been added at various times. The central one of the three—the second to the north of the stoa, between XII *f* and XII *h*—is interrupted by a good poros threshold, *ca.* 1.25 m. long, broken in two pieces, *ca.* 1.60 m. from the inside of the street wall. The level of the top is but slightly above that of the street. The parallel walls to the north and south, however, are preserved somewhat higher than the central one. It is therefore evident that while the latter might have been covered by a higher floor when the others were built, no floor belonging with the central wall could have covered them. The southern pair flanking XII *h* are so close (1.70 m. apart) that their co-existence seems improbable. But not far east of the threshold a short north-south wall connects the two, and as this short wall would be meaningless with either end free, the walls it joins must have been simultaneously in use. Just east of this connecting wall there is a heavy poros threshold, broken in two pieces, in the southern wall at a slightly lower level than that of the one in the neighboring wall to the north, and in the latter wall, still farther east, there is an irregular four-block sill with an angular spur wall to the north, seeming to form a vestibule, like that at the entrance of the western house, though smaller.

About 4.50 m. east of the street wall the base of an older wall parallel to it is preserved below the upper floor level. By pit soundings this wall was found to run from the second wall north of the stoa to beyond the third. Its line is continued by the east wall of the room XII *b*, probably a survival of, or built upon, the older wall. In room XII *h*, south of the second wall, the old wall has disappeared, but its line is marked by a drain originally built against its west side. This drain has a plastered bottom and is faced on the west side by stones *ca.* 0.20 m. high, set on edge. In XII *h* it is *ca.* 0.15 m. wide, but after passing south through a culvert *ca.* 0.21 m. wide by 0.35 m. to 0.39 m. high, carefully built in the first wall, its western boundary swings outward until the plastered bottom has a width of *ca.* 0.80 m. It continues right up to the north wall of the stoa. With the substitution of the short north-south wall across XII *h* for the older wall there, and the removal of the old wall between the first wall and the stoa, the drain must have functioned badly if at all; the bottom was not extended beyond its original east line. The long north-south wall of the older system was met by at least two walls joining it at right angles on the west side beneath XII *f*, and by one coming from the east between XII *e* and XII *g*. A strip of composition floor at the level belonging with the threshold in the second wall covers the western part of this third east-west wall of the older system as well as the north-south wall itself north of the third wall, though curiously enough south of the third wall the floor coating appears to stop in a straight line above the western edge of the old north-south wall. The wall between XII *d* and XII *f* in turn seems to be built upon this floor, and should therefore belong to a third phase of construction. Another

wall parallel to the street lies at the eastern limit of the excavation, where all masonry above the floor level had disappeared. It seems to belong with the older system of walls and bonds with the east-west wall between XII *e* and XII *g*, which lies beneath the floor, and perhaps with another bit of east-west wall at its northern end, though the connection is not wholly clear. Where the first wall north of the stoa meets it, there is no bonding at all, but a clear joint on both sides of the north-south wall, showing that the east-west wall is a later construction, in spite of its careful provisions for passage of the drain.

No interpretation of the walls of any period of this structure is possible, as the number of small rooms into which it was divided does not accord with any well-known type of plan. That it was not a residence seems certain, that it was not a shop or series of shops is probable, but whether it housed some sort of industry or served some civil or religious function related to those of the stoa cannot be said.

STRUCTURES ABOVE MAIN TERRACES

After the disposition and type of buildings to be found on the relatively flat northern and western terraces had been determined in a general way, it was decided to clear two long strips, five meters wide, through the brush across the shoulder of the hill, somewhat more than half way down from the saddle (3) to the north terrace (4—Figs. 7-8, and Fig. 27 above the excavation in the foreground). The longer strip ran from northwest to southeast to the east flank of the ridge (Plate IX *d, c, f*, and Fig. 27); the other, starting where the first cleared strip crossed the ridge, ran somewhat north of east down toward the west end of the western terrace (Pl. IX *a, b, c*, and Fig. 27). Unfortunately, as no survey of these clearings was made, the position has had to be approximated on the general plan from photographs only. In each strip three areas were excavated which in turn have been approximately located, in the first cleared strip from photographs, and in the second from the note book record that the easternmost trench (*c*) was dug "not very far" from the other strip, the central trench (*b*) about 40 m. from this, and the westernmost (*a*) about 20 m. still farther on. The plans of these trenches are copied from Dr. Blegen's notebook; the disposition and general character of the contents may be considered quite certain, but the orientation—not checked by any survey—may be inexact. However, it is doubtful if there are anywhere errors in location as great as five meters, or in orientation exceeding ten degrees.

In Trench *a* (Pl. IX) the farthest west in the east-west strip clearing, parallel walls running east and west about 1.75 m. apart were found, between which ten complete sections of a large terracotta conduit, and part of one at each end of the trench, were uncovered (Fig. 28). The sections are from 0.64 m. to 0.69 m. long, with a diameter of about 0.25 m. Each section is enlarged at the two ends to permit

tight sleeve joints, and each was reinforced with a raised band about the middle. Each section, moreover, had an elliptical hole in the top, *ca.* 0.10 by 0.14 m., closed by a lid, evidently cut from the pipe before it was baked. Usually these clean-out openings were near the center of the sections, in several cases actually crossing the raised band. Each lid had a small knob or handle. The lids were apparently cemented in place and the sections of pipe cemented together. All the lids were quite loose when uncovered,



Fig. 28. Terracotta Conduit in Trench *a* above Western Part of West Terrace, Looking West

but traces of whitish mortar were clearly visible. The conduit slopes very gradually toward the east. The slightness of pitch, together with the size of pipe and careful construction, points to its having served as an aqueduct following the contours of the hill to bring water from some spring in the heights behind the acropolis. The pipe was bedded in very sandy soil. The wall to the north of it was poorly built of small stones and may mark the north side of a street, though no indication of a pavement or street level above the pipe was found. The wall to the south was a terrace wall standing now to a height of about 1.50 m. above the bottom of the conduit, but perhaps originally reaching twice that height. It is built of rather small stones, except for a slight projection, about 2.00 m. wide, of very large stones toward the east end of the

trench. At this end also there are remains of an earlier terrace wall of large stones lying at a slightly different angle (Fig. 28, foreground left). There was no certain indication as to whether the conduit was contemporary with the earlier or later terrace wall.

In the next trench (Pl. IX *b*), the central one in the east-west strip clearing, a stretch of retaining wall was uncovered running east and west, parallel with the contours of the hill. About 2.50 m. from the eastern end of the trench it was met or continued at right angles by a wall to the south. East of this point the terrace wall was built of large roughly rectangular blocks; westward the stone work was smaller and more irregular. Part of this western section had fallen forward to the north and in scattered earth beneath the tumble were found one silver coin of Colophon of the second half of the fourth century,⁵⁰ four of bronze of the same period, and two bronze coins of Antiochus II. Near the western end of the trench, a parallel wall lay *ca.* 1.70 m. to the north of the terrace wall. This was also a retaining wall, having a true face on the north side but none on the south (Fig. 29); it was built of roughly squared limestone blocks and finished in a square east end and level top. About a meter and a half from this end a large limestone threshold, with rabbet and hinge socket holes on its eastern edge, spanned the gap from one terrace wall to the other. A little less than a meter below this threshold and about a meter to the east of it, another threshold of about the same length reached to a third terrace wall. The second threshold was of poros, with sill and hinge holes on the east edge, on both top and bottom, indicating re-use. Heavy traffic had worn away much of the upper surface to below the level of the rabbet. Sixty centimeters west of this block and *ca.* 0.25 m. lower, a cross wall served as a step below the threshold. The two thresholds evidently carried no doors in their present situation and formed no part of any roofed construction. Instead it seems clear that the trench chanced to uncover the end of a relatively level section of street or plateia at the foot of a terrace wall, which, at its western end, connected one section of a zigzag road leading up the side of the hill from below with another stretch continuing westward on a higher level. The thresholds were re-used blocks placed at changes in the slope to hold the surface of the road.

The easternmost of the three trenches in the east-west strip (Pl. IX *c*), quite close to the junction with the north-south strip, seems also to have uncovered roadway rather than houses. In it were three parallel walls running northeast and southwest. The two more easterly ones were built of very large stones with other large stones lying between and tumbled to the north of them. These two walls appear to have formed the opposite faces of a causeway, *ca.* 3.30 m. wide, running directly up the slope of the hill. A suggestion of a cross wall may indicate that the bottom of the ramp was about in the middle of the trench, though the western side wall seems to

⁵⁰ Milne, Period IV, *ca.* 350-*ca.* 330, Group A, half-drachma: *Num. Notes and Mon.*, No. 96, pp. 59-63.

continue a little farther north. The grade level at the start of the causeway, if such it was, is established by a fine poros threshold lying in the northeast corner of the trench, within a meter of the east wall of the ramp and at an angle to it. The threshold, only *ca.* 0.15 m. wide, was uncovered for a meter without reaching the southeast end. At the other end it was met at right angles by a row of three poros blocks, *ca.* 0.10 m. wide, forming the base of a very thin wall or the facing of a thicker one which had disappeared. The extremely small scale of this structure, coupled with its excellent workmanship and apparent lack of relation to neighboring walls, suggests that it may



Fig. 29. Middle Trench (*b*) in Cleared Strip above West Terrace, Looking West

have been a small free-standing shrine or aedicula of some sort set at a crossroads or minor concourse. The westernmost of the three major walls in trench *c*, about 0.50 m. wide, lay *ca.* 2.80 m. from the west side of the ramp. Connected with other walls to its west, it may have formed part of a building. But since it lay close to the edge of the trench and only a little above stereo on both sides, the plan was not revealed.

In the other long strip clearing, running more nearly north and south across the ridge of the hill, the northernmost trench (*d*, Pl. IX) started south from what was probably the second large retaining wall south of the west terrace, upholding another terrace at a level ten to fifteen meters above the latter. The top of the retaining wall had, of course, been carried away, and with it the edge of the terrace itself. Parallel to it, *ca.* 1.35 m. to the south, is the foundation of the north wall of a large structure, substantially built and 0.55 m. to 0.60 m. wide. Of the east end wall of this building, the foundation alone is preserved for a distance of some seven meters south from the

edge of the terrace. This foundation was built with an outer face of large, fairly well shaped blocks, 0.40 m. to 0.60 m. long; the inner part of the wall, of smaller rubble, has largely disappeared. Apparently the wall was originally at least 0.65 m. wide. Farther south, where the covering earth was deeper, the inner, western, face of the wall is preserved above the floor level, but the outer face is gone. The wall here was *ca.* 0.65 m. thick and built of irregular blocks of good size set to an even face. From the rear face of the rear wall—not the terrace wall—to the front of the front wall was a distance of *ca.* 11.00 m. The front wall was *ca.* 0.65 m. wide, and is preserved for two or more courses. Its south face is made of large rectangular limestone blocks, 0.50 m. to 0.70 m. long and *ca.* 0.38 m. high, extending about half way through the wall. The blocks are dressed with rounded faces like those of the great stoa. Probably the outside of the end wall was similarly faced. The inner face of the front wall is less well preserved, apparently like the inner face of the end wall it was not intended to show, and was probably covered with plaster. At a distance of *ca.* 5.65 m. from the southeast corner, the front wall ends in a large limestone block *ca.* 0.70 m. long, dressed with the usual convex face on the south, but on the west picked to a flat plane with a smooth band along the south edge. The smooth band doubtless formed an anathyrosis contact with a jamb or anta, probably of poros. At the base of the wall a poros slab, *ca.* 0.80 m. wide, extended westward. It was uncovered for a distance of only half a meter, but its size and the absence of cuttings indicate that it was a long sill or perhaps a stylobate, rather than the threshold of a doorway. Half way between the front and rear wall lay a third wall, *ca.* 0.65 m. wide, made of good facing blocks on inner and outer sides, with a rubble fill between. At a distance of 2.27 m. from the inside of the end wall this axial wall was interrupted by a poros threshold 1.21 m. long, 0.50 m. wide and 0.34 m. deep, with rabbet and cuttings for hinge socket on the northern edge. As the top of this threshold projected about five centimeters above the ground before excavation, the floor level to the south is probably preserved, while that to the north must be almost wholly gone. No floor was discovered in either region. The axial wall was uncovered for less than a meter beyond the doorway. But if the doorway was in the center of the front wall of the room into which it gave, the latter must have been 5.75 m. wide. Three rooms of this size—the minimum to permit a symmetrical façade—would form a building over 19.00 m. long, and the opening in the front wall would be in the neighborhood of 8.00 m. Since such an opening would require columns to uphold the architrave, the column drum of 0.40 m. diameter found on the prosta sill of the middle house on the terrace below (Pl. XI, Fig. 19) may quite possibly have rolled down from this building. Of course the building may well have been considerably more than 19.00 m. long, and it is not at all impossible that it continued along the terrace above the poros house, and was the source of the fragment of Doric capital found there. The foundations of the east wall appear to continue northward to the terrace wall, but the building probably did not. It is more likely

that a narrow way was left behind the rear wall so that rain water from the roof would not fall onto the terrace below. A gate may have closed the east end of this drainway. The line of the east wall is continued south beyond the front wall of the building by a wall of rough unshaped stones which may have been an enclosure or retaining wall but certainly did not form part of the building.

Farther south in the same cleared strip, a trench of some length was opened on the crest of the ridge (*c*, Pl. IX). Because of the narrowness of the strip, only sections of buildings were uncovered and no complete plan was revealed. At the northern end was a heavy retaining wall of massive uncut boulders for a terrace at a level between five and ten meters above that just considered. South from this and at right angles to it run the walls of a building about 8.00 m. deep and of undetermined width, evidently a public structure of some sort. At the east was a room *ca.* 2.50 m. wide running from front to rear of the building. Along the east side, and at the south toward the front, were foundations of unexplained nature, possibly indicating that a stairway of two flights once occupied this long room, or possibly being survivals of earlier structures. Beside it at the rear of the building was a room *ca.* 4.25 m. deep from north to south, and of undetermined width. It may have been square or elongated from east to west. In front of this room was another *ca.* 2.00 m. deep, presumably a portico or vestibule (Fig. 30, foreground). None of the walls were preserved above the foundations, and there was no indication of the location of any doorway. Before this building, at a distance of four to six meters, ran diagonally toward the southwest a low retaining wall made of extremely large uncut stones. Directly in front of the southeast angle of the building just considered, a particularly large stone, *ca.* 1.50 m. long, was set on end upon a flattened block, like a baetylic monument (Fig. 30, center). This upright stone marked the eastern termination of the massive retaining wall. East of it there were only small stones which might have served as foundations for the threshold of a gateway. The ground rose perhaps 0.50 m. from the building to the retaining wall and also sloped up somewhat from east to west. In this area were various groups of stones which may possibly have been foundations at some period but seemed more likely to be chance blocks or rough steps laid to hold the gradient of an inclined roadway. Before the gate or opening beside the standing stone was a little platform edged with irregular blocks in a curved line, as if for access from a street in the area between the north building and the retaining wall. South of the retaining wall the ground, at the top of the ridge, was fairly level. Here stood another building built of re-used material, including a good deal of poros. It was set parallel neither to the retaining wall nor to the building north of it, but was turned to follow the contour of the hill, with its long side to the northeast. This northeast face was not excavated; what there may have been there in the way of doors or other openings is quite unknown. In the northwest end, a little over 2.00 m. from the low retaining wall, was a door 1.25 m. wide with a threshold made of several

stones. Within, a wall divided the building lengthwise into a front part *ca.* 3.00 m. deep and a back part *ca.* 2.60 m. deep, which in turn was divided into a series of rectangular cubicles with doors in the corners opening from this front section. The first room was *ca.* 3.25 m. wide, with a doorway *ca.* 0.80 m. wide and a threshold of small stones. The second cubicle was of like size or a little smaller,—the wall between it and the third cubicle is very badly wrecked,—and no threshold remains in the doorway opening, now *ca.* 0.65 m. wide. The rear wall continues for the distance of a third



Fig. 30. Middle Trench (*e*) in North-South Cleared Strip above South End of North Terrace, Looking Lengthwise from Northwest. In Center, Upright Stone with Retaining Wall at Right. In Lower Half of Picture Walls of Large Public Structure

cubicle, and a few stones which may belong to the side wall are preserved at about three meters from the second one, but the front wall is altogether gone. Whether the building extended beyond this third room is doubtful, since at that point the grade begins to fall off sharply to the east, and the confused fragments of wall beyond it seem to belong to another system. It is possible that the wall dividing the first from the second cubicle continued, with a door in it, to the front wall of the building, perhaps to divide a closed vestibule from an open front wall beyond. Beside—that is, northwest of—this hypothetical cross wall is a mass of masonry of unclear form or function which may be the base of a stairway to a second story, mounting from the vestibule. In the diagonally opposite corner of this vestibule just within and to the left of the entrance door, a small group of half a dozen or more terracottas were found on, or in, a very hard layer of lime and pebbles. They were so rotted that only

one could be dug out in a complete, though broken, condition. It had the form of a seated grotesque human figure. With this were fragments of two plaques, each showing a horseman galloping to right with spear in hand, with apparently a serpent below the horse, three small jugs (two with trefoil lip 0.085 m. high) complete except for broken handles which were found near by, and one jug badly shattered. One of the jugs was found to contain eight small bronze coins of the late fourth to third century⁵¹ and a disk of lead. A similar jug was found at or beyond the south end of the building and two small jars of different shape, broken but complete, were found with a small intact saucer in the second cubicle. Other fragments of terracotta pottery and figurines, including a spirited bull, *ca.* 0.08 m. long by 0.075 m. high, were found in the earth of the area, but these could not be said with assurance to have been in the building while it was standing, since similar terracottas were found in every part of the excavation.

The southernmost trench in the long cleared strip (*f*, Pl. IX, and Fig. 7) lay quite on the east side of the acropolis hill, where the slope was steep. It revealed the remains of a series of walls at right angles to one another apparently all forming part of a single complex. This was probably a house, though the limits of the excavation prevented development of the plan. Many poros blocks were found, mostly fallen, and a mass of stones in the center of the trench which seemed to be, in part at least, the foundations of a flight of steps. There may have been here an "*andron*" with "*gynaikonitis*" above it, facing north across a narrow court toward a southward facing "*oikos*" on the other side.

So the picture revealed by the excavations on the Acropolis hill remains consistent. It is, throughout, that of a prosperous settlement of the fourth century, with residences, public buildings of various kinds as well as semi-public enterprises, such as shops, inns, and baths. One large public square there was, and at least one prominent sanctuary, that of the great mother goddess, here called Mother Antaia, but whether the sanctuary is incidental to the settlement or the square and indeed all the settlement an appendage of the sanctuary is uncertain. What is certain is that the whole complex came fully into being in the fourth century with no indication of gradual preliminary growth, and after thriving for a generation or two, as shown by active rebuilding, launched on a program of large scale expansion, and then was abandoned by its inhabitants, as suddenly as it had been settled. The end of the story is historically explained by the forcible transfer of the Colophonians to Ephesos; the reason for the sudden commencement can only be guessed, but important indices are furnished by an inscription found most opportunely in the Metroön in 1922. The text

⁵¹ The coins, as far as they were legible, consisted of two types: 1) Milne Period V, Group A; 2) the type with obverse, head of Apollo laureate r., long hair; rev., horse stepping r., KOA; placed by Milne in his period VI, Group B (*ca.* 285-190 B.C.); cf. No. 149. Dated in *British Museum Catalogue (Ionia, p. 40, No. 35)* 350-300 B.C.

has already been published in full by Meritt;⁵² the section of particular significance (lines 6-28) may be translated as follows:

In order that the people of Colophon, since King Alexander and Antigonos bestowed freedom upon them, may show themselves in every way zealous of preserving the glory of their ancestors, be it resolved by the people in the name of Good Fortune and for the safety of the entire people of the Colophonians, that the ancient city, which brought glory (in the eyes of all Greeks) to our forefathers when they received it from the gods and established it and when they founded its temples and altars, be enclosed within a common system of walls together with the present city. In order that this may be effected with all speed, the priest of Apollo, the other priests and priestesses, and the prytanis together with the council and those appointed in this decree shall on the fourth day of the ensuing month go down into the ancient market place to the altars of the gods which our ancestors bequeathed us and shall vow to Zeus Soter, to Poseidon Asphaleios, to Apollo Klarios, to the Mother Antaia, to Athena Polias, and to all the other gods and goddesses as well as to the heroes who occupy our city and country, that, when our blessings have been consummated, they will hold a sacred procession and perform a sacrifice in whatever manner the people may decide. Ten men are to be appointed who shall plan the walls: how they are to be drawn and how they are to be joined to the existing ones so as to obtain the maximum of strength. After due consideration they shall approve of an architect, whoever seems to them best qualified to take charge of the work on the walls. They shall also consider and approve of the salary for the architect, plan for the raising of foreign money, study the manner in which the roads and building lots shall be laid out and advantageously sold [or leased], and plan for setting aside a market place, workshops, and all other necessary public buildings. The men designated are to complete these tasks as rapidly as possible

From this it is evident that at the end of the fourth century there was an "ancient city" quite separate from the "present city" or center of population when the resolution of the demos was indited. Further, the "ancient city" was of legendary origin, and at the time of writing it may have been marked only by sacred precincts. Beside the two cities there was also an "ancient market place," presumably near or in the "ancient city" and certainly on lower ground than the "present city." The "present city" was already surrounded by fortifications, the "ancient city" may or may not have been, but a circuit of walls linking the two areas together was an undertaking now newly launched. In describing the fortification walls which he mapped in 1886, Schuchhardt⁵³ expresses the opinion that though the main circuit walls (Fig. 1) and towers show minor variations of technique, they are probably all contemporaneous and of the late fourth century, with the exception of those around the acropolis. These are of unsquared masonry and may, he thinks, be somewhat earlier. The inference from the inscriptions and remains is unavoidable that the "present city" was that upon the acropolis, in which naturally the inscription was found; that its fortifications antedate the end of the fourth century while all the rest of the circuit walls postdate the inscription (the junction at the round tower on the east side of the acropolis above

⁵² *A.J.P.*, LVI, 1935, pp. 358-371. Meritt now accepts a date near the end of the century instead of 334, which he originally suggested. Cf. note 10 on p. 95, above.

⁵³ *Ath. Mitt.*, XI, 1886, pp. 406-407.

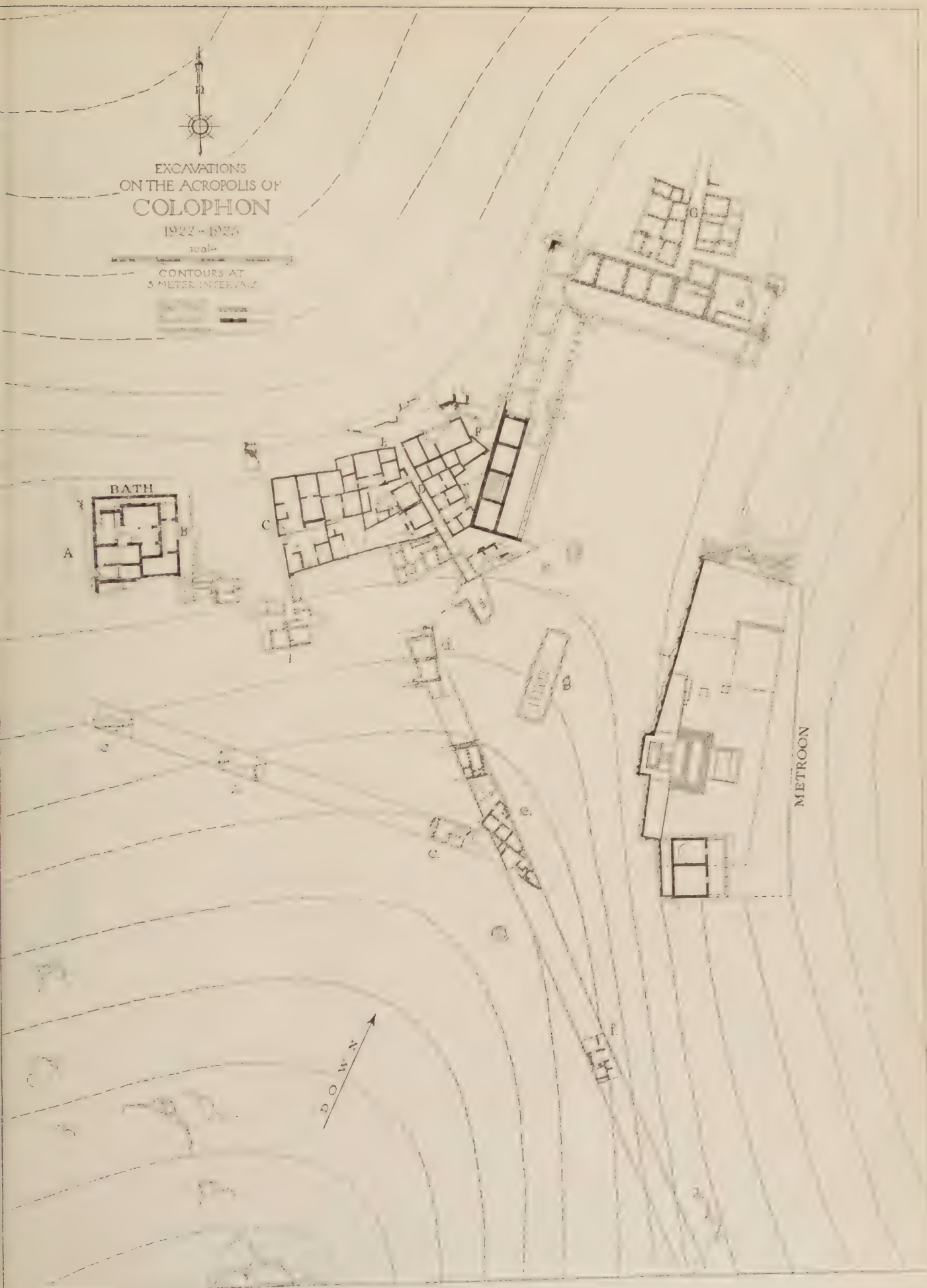
the Kabakli-dere is to be noted), that somewhere within the larger circuit lay the site of the earlier city, unfortified and perhaps abandoned during the period of occupation of the acropolis.

A study of the topography reveals, as the most probable site for the "ancient city," a long ledge of rock to the north of the acropolis, the western end of which drops almost vertically to the right bank of the Değirmendere (Figs. 1 and 3, 8). It seems improbable that more than the very scantiest remains of any sort could be preserved on this barren and disintegrating ridge, though apparently at the eastern end Schuchhardt found traces of fortifications; even where there is a covering of earth, little of importance can be hoped for (cf. Fig. 30). The ancient market place, with the altars of the gods, would be more apt to be beside rather than upon the narrow hill, and since the level ground to the north was not included within the new circuit walls, it should be looked for to the south. Hereabouts should be what remains may still be found of the city sacked by Gyges, notable in antiquity for its wealth and luxurious living. The seventh century, one of poverty and oppression, probably saw little or no building anywhere in Colophon. Where the city first showed growth again under the Persian rule cannot be said: perhaps it was still on the unwalled site of the "ancient city," perhaps remains might be found in lower levels on the acropolis. To judge from the coinage, prosperity revived by the beginning of the fifth century, but declined under the rivalries of Persian and Athenian politics until the fourth century brought peace and wealth again.

From lack of historical reference to this period of the city's life, the causes of the renaissance which accompanied the transfer of habitation to the acropolis remain unknown. But coinage and the excavated remains both indicate a marked change of fortune, continuing through the century and leading to the great expansion so hopefully embarked upon before the final shipwreck. Perhaps the fifth century saw Colophon upon the older site; though if the ancient market place remained continuously the civic center, would it have seemed so distinct from the "present city" of the late fourth century as the inscription indicates? Certainly no fifth-century remains were found on the acropolis and no fifth-century graves on the adjacent necropolis hill. The possibility must therefore be envisaged of still a third location quite outside the line of the Hellenistic walls—perhaps somewhere on the Traça çay—for the city of the Athenian tribute lists.

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GENERAL PLAN

THE GOLDEN NIKAI RECONSIDERED

In the Parthenon as reconstituted by scholars, our eyes have been so dazzled by the colossal gold and ivory statue that we have scarcely noticed her handmaidens, the golden victories of Athena. Our attention has been drawn to them again by the thorough study of all the relevant inscriptions by Mr. Woodward.¹ These inscriptions together with a few scattered literary references considered in connection with a bronze head recently discovered in the Agora² provide sufficient material to tempt one to reconstruct the Nikai.

The Parthenos and these Nikai alike were the expression of the prudence of Perikles, who believed in fortifying the state by great reserve funds rather than by mortgages on future earnings: αἱ δὲ περιουσίαι, he sagaciously observed, τοὺς πολέμους μᾶλλον ἢ αἱ βίαιοι ἐσφοραὶ ἀνέχουσιν (Thucydides, I, 141, 5). These financial reserves were translated into a spiritual investment by dedicating them to the Goddess. Thus the Athenians could lay up their treasures in heaven while still keeping their hands on them. But when they were obliged to convert these golden statues into money, they were careful not to say κατακόψωμεν τὰς Νίκας εἰς τὸν πόλεμον but συγχρησόμεθα ταῖς Νίκαις εἰς τὸν πόλεμον.³ Piety and prudence could both be satisfied by turning useless bullion into works of art. Furthermore, there was undoubtedly serious pressure to keep in employment the skilled craftsmen who had been released from occupation when the Parthenos was dedicated in 438 B.C. Perikles, be it remembered, kept his eye on labor conditions, "it being his desire and design that the undisciplined mechanic multitude that stayed at home should not go without their share of the public salaries and yet should not have them given them for sitting still and doing nothing,

¹ "The Golden Nikai of Athena," *Ἀρχ. Ἑφ.*, 1937, pp. 159 ff.; "Two Attic Treasure Records," *Athenian Studies Presented to W. S. Ferguson, Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, Supplement I (Cambridge, 1940), pp. 377 ff. Older literature: P. Foucart, "Les Victoires en or de l'acropole," *B.C.H.*, XI, 1888, pp. 283 ff.; W. S. Ferguson, *The Treasurers of Athena* (Cambridge, 1932).

This study has been a co-operative affair. Undertaken as a brief note for Eugene Schweigert's publication of the Agora fragments of Nikai records, it was fostered by the generous interest of many friends, to whom I owe more than I can formally acknowledge. Especial thanks must be rendered, however, to Arthur Parsons, who joined in the preliminary skirmish, to Kendrick Pritchett, who patiently advised on matters epigraphical, to Mary Zelia Pease who as patiently acted as 'model' for the figures, to J. H. Classey who made an invaluable copy of Professor Woodward's article, and above all, to my husband, who not only advised, suggested, and criticized, but actually abetted in the overthrow of his own theories, and then urged me to publish. Figs. 4, 8, 11 are from photographs especially taken by Alison Frantz.

² H. A. Thompson. "A Golden Nike from the Athenian Agora," *H.S.C.P.*, Supplement I, pp. 183 ff.

³ Demetrius, *De elocutione*, 281.

to that end he thought fit to bring in among them with the approbation of the people, the vast projects of buildings and designs of work that would be kept of some continuance before they were finished and would give employment to numerous arts." (Plutarch, *Pericles*, 159b, translation by Clough.)

It is probably more than a coincidence, therefore, that the first extant mention of the golden Nikai occurs in a decree of 434 B.C. that orders ἐκποεῖν τὰ ἐναιέτια τὰ λίθινα καὶ τὰς Νίκας τὰς χρυσᾶς.⁴ Their subsequent history can be traced in various inscriptions down to the middle of the fourth century B.C. and by literary references into the third. But the tradition of making large golden statues was much older. The ancient East as well as Egypt produced numerous statues in precious metals (*infra*, p. 180). The taste for ostentatious sculpture came to Greece in the Orientalizing period, and Kypselos, imitating the potentates, dedicated a golden Zeus.⁵ Chance excavation recently at Delphi has revealed fragments of gold and ivory statues of this period, to make real to our incredulous eyes the fairy-stories of tradition.⁶ Among the most important of the traditional dedications at Delphi was that after Himera, made by Hiero and his brothers,—a golden Nike within a tripod of the same metal; the entire offering weighed 16 talents. And once more to the incredulous, corroboration has been offered by the discovery of the base of this very offering.⁷ The other golden statues of which we read in literature and inscriptions still remain vague,⁸ but the records of the golden Nikai of Athena are unique in being the only surviving descriptions of ancient statues written by contemporaries of their sculptors.

The Nikai which are to be discussed in this paper, and the evidence attesting them, may for convenience be introduced here in tabular form.

LIST OF NIKAI

Letter	Reference	Date B.C.	Description	Identification
A, B, C (At least)	A.T.L., D2, lines 2-3 (= I.G., I ² , 92; Woodward, No. 1)	434/3	Nikai in plural	—
D	<i>Hesperia</i> , IX, 1940, p. 309, No. 27, lines 1-4	ca. 430-425	Nike weighing two talents	Might equal A, B
E	<i>Hesperia</i> , IX, 1940, p. 309, No. 27, lines 4-10	ca. 430-425	Nike by Deinokrates, weighed from feet upward	Might equal B, C

⁴ I.G., I², 92; Meritt, Wade-Gery, and McGregor, *The Athenian Tribute Lists* (Cambridge, 1939), D2 (p. 161 and pp. 208-209).

⁵ Pausanias, V, 2, 3.

⁶ P. Amandry, "Les statues chryselephantines de Delphes," *R.C.H.*, LIII, 1939, pp. 86 ff.

⁷ Athenaeus, VI, p. 231c; F. Poulsen, *Delphi*, p. 219.

⁸ Pausanias, X, 24, 5, etc. For the history of golden statues in later times, see K. Scott, "The Significance of Statues in Precious Metals in Emperor Worship," *Trans. and Proc. Am. Phil. Assoc.*, LXII, 1931, pp. 101 ff.

<i>Letter</i>	<i>Reference</i>	<i>Date B.C.</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>Identification</i>
<i>F, G</i>	<i>I.G.</i> , I ² , 368, lines 1-28 (= Woodward, No. 2)	426/5	Nikai in dual, just dedicated. Legs of <i>F</i> weighed separately	Not equal the above because just dedicated
<i>H</i>	Woodward, No. 3, line 1 (= <i>I.G.</i> , I ² , 369)	ca. 410	One item --- $\epsilon\rho\iota$ --- precedes other Nikai	Might equal <i>A, B, F</i> , or <i>G</i>
<i>I</i>	Woodward, No. 3, lines 2-6 (= <i>I.G.</i> , I ² , 369)	ca. 410	Total weight 1 tal., 5987 dr., grouped peculiarly	Rekurs in Woodward, No. 4, lines 5-10 (= <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 1502). Might equal <i>A, B, C, E, F</i> , or <i>G</i>
<i>J</i>	Woodward, No. 3, lines 9-13 (= <i>I.G.</i> , I ² , 369)	ca. 410	Nike by --- atides. Total weight 1 tal., 596.2 dr., 3 ob.	Rekurs in Woodward, No. 5, lines 13 ff. (= <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 1370 + 1371 + 1384) <i>Hesperia</i> , IX, 1940, pp. 310 f., No. 28 + <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 1386 + 1381 (lines 2 ff. of <i>Hesperia</i> , IX, No. 28) <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 1388, lines 16-24 (= Woodward, No. 6) <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 1393, lines 6-11 (+ <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 1406 + 1448 + 1449 = Woodward, No. 7) <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 1400, lines 8-12 (= Woodward, No. 9) <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 1407, lines 8-11 (= Woodward, No. 10) <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 1424a (<i>Addenda</i>), lines 5-21 (= Woodward, No. 12) <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 1425, lines 1-16 (= Woodward, No. 13) <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 1428 (<i>Addenda</i>), lines 26-41 (= Woodward, No. 14) <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 1431, lines 1-4 (= Woodward, No. 15) Woodward, No. 16 (= <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 1440, lines 40-45) Might equal <i>C</i>
<i>K</i>	Woodward, No. 3, lines 13-17 (= <i>I.G.</i> , I ² , 369)	ca. 410	Nike by Timodemos. Arms and feet weighed separately	Might equal <i>D</i> or <i>F</i>
<i>L</i>	Woodward, No. 4, lines 2-5 (= <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 1502)	ca. 407/6	Nike weighs over two talents	Might equal <i>A, B, C</i> , or <i>H</i>

<i>Letter</i>	<i>Reference</i>	<i>Date B.C.</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>Identification</i>
M	<i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 1421 (line 12) + 1423 + 1424 (lines 31-34) + 1689 (= Woodward, Nos. 11 and 17)	374/3	Nike dedicated by Board of Kallistratos	Not equal to any of above. Recurs on: <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 1424a (<i>Addenda</i>), lines 50-62 (= Woodward, No. 12; cf. No. 17) <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 1425, lines 45-62 (= Woodward, No. 13) <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 1428 (<i>Addenda</i>), lines 9-24 (= Woodward, No. 14) <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 1431, lines 5 ff. (= Woodward, No. 15)

Presumably the golden Nikai of Athena celebrated the Athenian victories of the fifth century. The first extant reference to them, as noted above, dates from 434 B.C.,

after the victory of the Athenian navy over recalcitrant Samos in 439 B.C.⁹

These examples probably embodied the goddess' share of the 1400 talent tribute exacted in that triumph. The two Nikai dedicated in 426/5 B.C. cannot, on account of the date of the decree, be associated with the taking of Sphakteria; besides, the chief dedication for that event was a great bronze Nike set up on the Acropolis.¹⁰ Rather the golden figures should be related to the two brilliant naval victories of Phormio in the Corinthian gulf in 429 B.C.¹¹ Just when the other Nikai listed in the late fifth century were dedicated cannot be guessed. But in view of the common practice of dedicating Nikai for sea victories, it seems safe to associate the others with the naval



Fig. 1. Gold Coins of 407/6 B.C. (Enlarged)
(Seltman, *Greek Coins*, pl. XXVII, 8-9)

successes of which Athenian history offers a rich choice.

Of these fifth-century Nikai all but one were melted down in the desperate crisis of 407/6 B.C. to make coins of which a few are still extant (Fig. 1).¹² In 374/3 B.C.

⁹ *Cambridge Ancient History*, V, pp. 169 ff.; Thucydides, I, 116. Seltman offers no specific evidence for his suggestion, *Greek Coins*, p. 204, that they were dedicated to celebrate Salamis.

¹⁰ Pausanias, IV, 36, 6.

¹¹ *Camb. Anc. Hist.*, V, pp. 208 ff.

¹² C. Seltman, *Greek Coins*, pl. XXVII, 8-9.



Fig. 2. Gold Coin of Alexander (Enlarged)

(Zwitsch. f. Numis., 1922)

a new Nike was dedicated, probably to celebrate the triumphs of Chabrias at Naxos and of Timotheos in the Peloponnesos in 376/5 B.C.¹³ Both these victors also dedicated crowns on the Acropolis to celebrate their successes.¹⁴ Whether the Nike of 374/3 B.C. was entirely new or merely a restoration of an old one cannot be certain. But in view of the restricted resources of Athens at that time, it seems probable that

the commissioner Androtion re-created her from the melting-down of many crowns and offerings in the Parthenon, to the indignation of his critics, *φήσας δ' ἀπορρεῖν τὰ φύλλα τῶν στεφάνων καὶ σαπρὸν εἶναι διὰ τὸν χρόνον, ὥσπερ Ἴων ἢ ῥόδων ὄντας, ἀλλ' οὐ χρυσίου. συγχωνεύειν ἔπεισεν.*¹⁵

On the Panathenaic amphorae of 336 B.C. (Fig. 14) and on the gold coins of Alexander issued in that year (Fig. 2), Nikai are shown, holding one or two naval emblems. The suggestion that it was Alexander, who, in a spirit of generosity and archaeological zeal, gave the ancient city new statues of Victory just as he was about to rob her of all power to conquer, seems highly plausible.¹⁶ Lykourgos, then, in 334-330 B.C. was merely vying with Alexander when he reconstructed the Nikai, . . . *χρήματα πολλὰ συνήγαγεν εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, καὶ παρασκευάσας τῇ θεῷ κόσμον, νίκας τε ὀλοχρύσους.* . . .¹⁷ It was a brief revival: in the opening years of the third century, the Victories, along with their goddess, were stripped of their wealth by the tyrant Lachares to pay his mercenaries.¹⁸ Once again we can savor the dubious pleasure of handling the original metal, which still exists in the dull coins struck in those bitter days (Fig. 3).



Fig. 3. Gold Coin of Lachares (Enlarged)

(Greek Coins, pl. LXII, 12)

¹³ *Camb. Anc. Hist.*, VI, pp. 74 f.

¹⁴ Demosthenes, *Timokrates*, 756 (Chabrias); *I.G.*, II², *Addenda* 1424a, line 368 (376/5 B.C., Timotheos).

¹⁵ Demosthenes, *Timok.*, 755. The suggestion that the gold obtained by melting down the crowns went into the Nike of 374/3 was made by Ferguson, *Treasurers*, pp. 18-19, note 1.

¹⁶ Thompson, *H.S.C.P.*, Supplement I, pp. 206 f.

¹⁷ Plutarch, *X orat. vit.*, 852 B; cf. Pausanias, I, 29, 16; Ferguson, *Treasurers*, pp. 122 f.

¹⁸ *Class. Phil.*, XXIV, 1929, pp. 1 ff.; *Papyr. Oxyr.*, XVII, 2082; cf. Seltman, *Greek Coins*, pl. LXII, 12, p. 258; Ferguson, *Treasurers*, p. 126.

CONSTRUCTION

The amount of gold assigned to the construction of a Nike evidently was intended to be two talents. Seltman points out that "ancient silversmiths and goldsmiths, like modern oriental jewellers, generally made their wares on current standards employed for the precious metals."¹⁹ The treasure-lists reveal clearly that common objects like silver phialai or hydriai approximate round numbers, such as 10 or 100 minas.²⁰ They usually fall just short of the figure. The Nikai likewise approximate two talents. Only one reached the exact amount (*Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 309, No. 37); another exceeded the figure by more than 200 drachmai (*I.G.*, II², 1502).²¹ The others fall short of two talents.

Two talents of gold is even to us a considerable amount, approximately 120 lbs.²² At the present rate of \$35.00 an ounce, the bullion for one Nike alone would bring to-day \$67,200.00. If the difference in purchasing power between the late fifth century before Christ and the mid-twentieth century after Christ be set conservatively at one to ten, the value of the gold would be more than a quarter of a million dollars. The careful detail of the treasurers' lists show how seriously the value was regarded. But, for all their precautions, we shall see that even in the Parthenon theft was possible.

How was this gold converted into a statue? One point is certain: no Greek statue of precious metal was ever cast solid. Such an extravagant method would have been out of keeping with Greek usage and totally unnecessary, for gold is the "most malleable of all the metals. It is also extremely ductile: a single grain [1/11 of an obol] may be drawn into a wire 500 ft. in length."²³ A plate as thin as writing-paper can be handled easily without denting. The common ancient practice was to press very thin sheets of gold over a modelled core of sturdier material, such as wood, silver, or bronze. The base had to be fully modelled, even smoothed and engraved, before receiving the gold. The Bronze Head recently found in the Agora is the best extant example of such a core, retaining as it does parts of the gold and silver plating in the grooves whereby it was attached so that it could be removed and weighed at intervals (Fig. 4).²⁴

To those who object to calling a gold-plated statue a "gold statue," a full study of the relevant terms in the treasure-lists is urgently recommended. If there really was a technical distinction in the minds of the recorders, it is certainly not apparent

¹⁹ *Greek Coins*, pp. 72 f.

²⁰ E. g., *I.G.*, I, 248 ff.

²¹ Cf. Woodward, 'Αρχ. Ήφ., 1937, p. 163.

²² A goldleaf firm in Philadelphia told me before the war that they would not be able to fill an order for 120 lbs. of gold in the city, but would have to send to Washington.

²³ *Encyc. Brit.*, eleventh edition, XII, p. 193.

²⁴ Thompson, *H.S.C.P.*, Suppl. I, pp. 191 ff.

in the available evidence.²⁵ Take, for example, the variety in the descriptions of a common object,

κανὼν χρυσὸν ὑπόχαλκον	<i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 1392, line 19
κα νὼν χρυσὸν ὑπόξυλον	<i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 1396, lines 2-3
κανοῦν ὑπόχαλκον ἐπίχρυσον	<i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 1436, line 49
κανὼν κατάχρυσον ν ὑπόχαλ κον	<i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 1421, line 38.

It seems unlikely that these variations all reflect slightly different techniques. But what shows the identity of the terms in the case of one and the same object occurs

with the *θυμιατήριον* of Kleostratē. |θυμια-
τήρ|ιον ἀρ|γυ|ρόν . . . χαλκᾶ δι|ερείσματα
ἔχον| later appears as a *θυμιατήριον ὑπόχαλ-
κον ἐπάργυρον*.²⁶ One might argue that parts
of the solid silver censer had been replaced
by plated bronze, were it not that bronze is
lighter than silver and should have reduced
the total weight, which actually has in-
creased by 20 dr. One must suppose that the
description rather than the object varied.
Nor have we students of Greek any right to
exact accuracy in the strictly modern sense
of any fifth-century Greek word describing
a technique.

Nor can we be too fastidious in trans-
lating *ὀλόχρυσος*. To our minds the obvious
translation would be "solid gold." But the
Greeks did not make life-sized statues of
solid gold, just as they did not make large
statues of solid bronze. Yet we are quite
willing to refer to hollow bronze figures as
"bronze statues." We call the Parthenos
"a statue of ivory and gold," though we
know well from her height and weight that

she was not made either of solid ivory or of solid gold. The emphasis on *ὀλο-* in
Plutarch's phrase can be most plausibly explained by looking at the head from the



Fig. 4. Bronze Head from Agora

²⁵ Boeckh, *Staatshaushaltung der Athener*, II³ (1886), p. 148; Michaelis, *Der Parthenon*, p. 313. Cf. Furtwängler, *Olympia*, IV, p. 16, who distinguishes two types (1) gold applied in thin plates, loosely attached (the older), and (2) gold firmly attached, apparently by fire. There is, however, no way of telling how the styles were designated in ancient terminology. Cf. Thompson, *loc. cit.*, p. 201.

²⁶ *I.G.*, II², 1382, lines 3 ff., etc.; cf. II², 1436, line 9.

Agora. On her we see that the latest covering at least was composed of a gold sheet over silver—an economy that Lykourgos evidently spurned. Again the term *όλόχρυσος* may have been opposed to *χρυσελεφάντινος*. The envelope was, then, of pure gold and only of gold. What was the composition of the core (if there was a core) made no more difference to the description than the masts and struts which have been described within chryselephantine statues.²⁷



Fig. 5. Lion Pedestal from Persepolis

(Schmidt, *Treasury*, fig. 45)

The most economical thickness for a sheet of gold would not exceed one millimetre. It was applied to the surface of the bronze core by bending the ends of the sheets over into long grooves and keying them into place by a bit of gold.²⁸ This technique appears also to have been used in Persian gold plating on bronze (Fig. 5).²⁹ The grooves on the Bronze Head from the Agora would permit of a plate about 0.08 cm. thick (Fig. 4). Professor Dinsmoor has calculated for the Parthenos a plating of 0.077 cm. One talent of gold beaten into a sheet 0.08 cm. thick would cover an area of 1.68 sq. m. A Nike weighing approximately two talents, if overlaid with

²⁷ Lucian, *Gallus*, 24: . . . ἦν δὲ ὑποκίψας ἰδὼς τὰ γ' ἐνδον. ὅψει μοχλοῦς τινας καὶ γόμφους καὶ ἦλους διαμπῶξ διαπεπερονημένους καὶ κορμοὺς καὶ σφῆνας καὶ πίτταν καὶ πηλὸν καὶ πολλήν τινα τοιαύτην ἀμορφίαν ὑποικονοῦσαν. . . .

²⁸ *H.S.C.P.*, Suppl. I, pp. 193 f.

²⁹ E. Schmidt, *Treasury of Persepolis*, p. 650, fig. 45. The lion pedestal was treated with grooves in much the same manner as the Agora Head, no doubt for the application of precious metal.

gold of that thickness, would have to provide an area of *ca.* 3.36 sq. m. We have various ways of checking this calculation. In the first place, we might consider the area of the Bronze Head from the Agora. If we take the head as a cylinder, we can gauge the surface roughly as 327 sq. cm. and the amount of gold required only 118 dr.³⁰ This is barely one hundredth of the total gold in a Nike of Athena. We must suppose, then, that the Nikai of the inscriptions were considerably larger than the Nike of the Agora.³¹

Since a three-foot statue could not have required the necessary amount of gold, we must consider another height that was popular for statues—four cubits, or six feet. This was the height of the Nike that stood on the hand of the Parthenos. The area of the skin of a human woman six English feet tall is *ca.* 1.93 sq. m.³² A draped figure, wearing jewellery and carrying accessories, would certainly require considerably more. The difference between our calculation, 3.36 sq. m., and the human 1.93 sq. m. seems none too much for the necessary appurtenances.

A more detailed check can be made on the single items which are listed on the inscriptions with their weights. Not only should the figures tally for the totals, but they should check within the group and from group to group among the Nikai, since they all weighed approximately the same. We can also refer certain items, like jewellery, to known gold equivalents in museums.³³

Our calculations are complicated by the fact that save for one fragmentary example the inscriptions do not list the weights of single objects, like a leg or an arm, separately, but they enter a number in groups, called *ῥυμοί*; for example, the head with all its jewellery. Only by comparison and cross-reference can we deduce the weight of any single item. Luckily two inscriptions are so well preserved that we can fully compare all the weights. For convenience in reference these two inscriptions are given in tabular form below.

³⁰ The calculation runs as follows: area of head surface = $2\pi rh$ ($h = 15.3$ cm., $r = 3.4$ cm.) = 327 sq. cm. (thickness of gold) \times 19.4 (specific gravity of gold) divided by 4.31 gr. per drachma.

³¹ The Agora figure might well have been a smaller version of the great Nikai of the Acropolis, dedicated in the temple of Hephaistos, just above where the Bronze Head was found. The likelihood that the body was composed of much more massive gold than the head, as was suggested, *H.S.C.P.*, Suppl. I, p. 203, seems less probable on the new evidence from Delphi. It would make the three-foot figure almost solid, which would be totally against ancient practice. The possibility that the figure was one of the golden akroteria of the temple of Athena Nike, which once lost a piece of gold plate, remains another possible identification. Cf. *loc. cit.*, p. 199.

³² Starling, *Principles of Human Physiology* (1933), p. 520, fig. 280.

³³ Jewellery parallels in the *British Museum Catalogue of Jewellery*, *στεφάνη*, No. 1607; *ἐνωιδίω*, Nos. 1653-4; *ῥυμος*, No. 1947; *ἱποδέρης*, No. 1966; *ἀμφιδέαι*, Nos. 1989-90. Their total weight in grains Troy is 3392 = *ca.* 52 dr.

NIKE BY — — — ατιδες ³⁴ (J)398/7 B.C. (I.G., II², 1388, lines 16-24)

Νίκης χρυσῆς
 πρῶτος ῥ[υμός· κε]φαλῇ, στεφάνη,
 ἐνωιδ[ί]ω, ὄρμος, ὑποδερίς, ἥλω δύο
 χρ[υσώ, χέ]ρ ἀριστερά, ἀμφιδέα,
 χρυσίδια μικρά :::: σταθμὸν το[ύτων:]
 |X|XΔΔΔΔΓΓΓΓ::

δεύτερος ῥυμός· θώραξ, στρόφιον·
 σταθ[μὸν τ]ούτων: XXΔ:

τρίτος ῥυμός· ἀπόπτυγμα, περόναι
 δύο, πόδ[ι]ε δύο]· σταθμὸν τούτων:
 XΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΔΔΔΔΓΓΓΓ::

τέταρτος ῥυμός· [χέ]ρ δεξιά,
 ἀμφιδέα, στέφανος, κατωρίδε δύο·
 σταθμὸν τούτ[ων:]
 |X|ΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΔΔΔΔΓΓΓΓ:

πέμπτος ῥυμός· ἀκρωτ[ή]ριον,
 χρυσίον ὀπ[ίσθ]ιον, σκέλε δύο·
 σταθμὸν τούτων: XXXXΓΓΓΓ:

Total: 1 talent, 5964 dr., 3 ob.

NIKE DEDICATED UNDER KALLISTRATOS (M)

371/0 B.C. (I.G., II², 1424a [Addenda], lines 50-62)

|τῇ]ς Νίκης τῆς ἐπὶ Σωκρατίδο ἄρχοντος
 [πρ]ῶτος ῥυμός· κεφαλῇ, στεφάνη,
 στέφανος |ὁ ἐ]πὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ, ἐνωίδια,
 ὑποδερίς, |ὄρ]μος, χεῖρες ἀμφοτέραι,
 ἀμφιδέαι δύο, [στ]αθμὸν XXXΓΔΔΔΔΓΓΓΓΓΓ::

|δε]ύτερος ῥυμός· θώραξ, περόνα, ζώνιον,
 |χρυσ]ίον ὀπόσθιον, [στ]αθμὸν
 XXXHHHΓΔΔΔΔΔΓΓΓΓ::

|τρ]ίτος ῥυμός· σκέλη ἀμφοτέρα καὶ
 |κα]τω[ρ]ίδε δύο, σταθμὸν
 XXXHHHΓΔΔΔΔΔΓΓΓΓ::

[τέ]ταρτος ῥυμός· ἀπόπτυγμα, πόδε δύο,
 [πε]ρονίδες, μία κατακλείεται.
 [στ]αθμὸν XXHΔΔΔΔΔΓΓΓΓ::

Total: 1 talent, 5898 dr., 4 ob.

We have here, then, two figures weighing within 66 dr. of each other. The component parts are arranged somewhat differently on each inscription so that they can be remuneratively compared. The temptation to equate identical items so that the weight of other items can be fixed within narrow limits instantly offers itself.

For instance let us equate:

(J) Nike by — — — atides

(M) Nike dedicated under Kallistratos

ῥυμός 1
 κεφαλῇ — — — — —

ῥυμός 1
 κεφαλῇ

³⁴ The Nikai will henceforth be referred to by letters according to the table, with all references, p. 174 ff.

στεφάνη	-----	στεφάνη	
ἐνωιδίω	-----	ἐνώidia	
ὄρμος	-----	ὄρμος	
ὑποδερίς	-----	ὑποδερίς	
ἦλω			
χρυσίδα			
χὲρ ἀριστερά	}	{	χεῖρες ἀμφότεραι
ἀμφιδέα			ἀμφιδέαι δύο
ῥυμός 4			
χὲρ δεξιὰ			
ἀμφιδέα			
στέφανος			στέφανος
κατωρίδε			

Total: 4012 dr. 3 obols

Total: 3077 dr. 4 obols.

Result: κατωρίδε + χρυσίδα + ἦλω = 934 dr. 5 obols.

And

ῥυμός 2	ῥυμός 2
θώραξ	θώραξ
στρόφιον	ζώνιον
	περόνα
	χρυσίον ὀπίσθιον

Total: 2010 dr.

Total: 3391 dr. 3 obols

Result: χρυσίον ὀπίσθιον + περόνα = 1381 dr. 3 obols.

Let us check, by way of test, the weight, *ca.* 930 dr., obtained above for the κατωρίδε by inserting it in the third ῥυμός of Kallistratos' Nike.

$$\sigma\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\eta + \kappa\alpha\tau\omega\rho\acute{\iota}\delta\epsilon = 3288 \text{ dr.}$$

$$\sigma\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\eta = 2358 \text{ dr.}$$

The only inscription that records the weight of separate legs (Nike *F*, *I.G.*, I², 368, lines 22 ff.) gives, on sufficiently plausible restorations, 1384 dr. for each. The legs of a six-foot woman, measured from the hips, would require a covering of 2545 dr., which is not too far from the above results. Following the same procedure, we can substitute the known weights in other ῥυμοί and gradually work out, within very narrow limits, many of the other items. It is significant that calculations for the parts of the human body in each case fall close to the weights given in the inscrip-

tions—a fact that indicates that the height of the figures has been correctly estimated as approximately six feet.³⁵ The results may be summarized in the following table.

³⁵ As can be tested by calculating the figures for different heights, difference in area varies considerably with each foot, so that even a margin of error of one hundred drachmai is small. No other height is possible, assuming that the thickness of the gold is correct.

Sections of the human body have been considered, for simplification, as cylinders. The formula may be worked out on the following data:

- 1) Circumference (or $\pi \times \text{diam.}$) \times height = area in centimeters,
- 2) Thickness of gold plate = .08 centimeters,
- 3) Specific gravity of gold = 19.4 grams per c. c.,
- 4) Grams of gold per drachma = 4.31.

Therefore the drachmai of gold required to cover any area of the human body with a plating of .08 cm. thick can roughly be expressed by the following formula:

Circumference ($2\pi r$) \times height \times .08 \times 19.4 \div 4.31. The formula is used, for example, for the area of the head thus:

$\pi \times (\text{average diameter of head} = 17.8 \text{ cm.}) \times (\text{ht. of head} = 30.5 \text{ cm.}) = \text{area. } 22/7 \times 17.8 \times 30.5 = 1706.26 \text{ sq. cm. } 1706.26 \times .08 = 136.5 \text{ cub. cm. } 136.5 \times 19.4 = 2648.12 \text{ gr. of gold. } 2648.12 \div 4.31 = 614.41 \text{ drachmai of gold.}$

This must necessarily represent the *minimum* amount without due allowance for the intricate convolutions of the hair, particularly if the coiffure is the "lampadion" which appears on the Agora Head.

We may now tabulate the relevant human measurements:

Head, diam.	av. 7" (17.78 cm.)	} average, 83 cm.
height	av. 12" (30.5 cm.)	
Chest, circum.....	37" (93.9 cm.)	}
Waist, circum.....	29" (73.6 cm.)	
Shoulder to hip	21" (53.3 cm.)	
Diam. of arm.....	4" (10.1 cm.)	
Length of arm.....	30" (76.2 cm.)	
Length of leg.....	45" (114.3 cm.)	
Circumference of both legs at knee...	22" (55.8 cm.)	
Circumference of hips.....	38" (96.5 cm.)	
Circumference of foot.....	10" (25.4 cm.)	
Length of foot.....	10" (25.4 cm.)	
Length of hand.....	8" (20.32 cm.)	
Circumference of hand.....	8" (20.32 cm.)	

The formula may be expressed as follows:

Arm:	$22/7 \times 10 \times 76 \times .08 \times 19.4 \div 4.31 =$	835.67
Hand:	$20 \times 20 \times .08 \times 19.4 \div 4.31 =$	144.08
Hand and arm.....		<hr/> 979.75
Thorax:	$83 \times 53.3 \times .08 \times 19.4 \div 4.31 =$	1593.84
Legs:	$62 \times 114 \times .08 \times 19.4 \div 4.31 =$	2545.14
Foot:	$25.4 \times 25.4 \times .08 \times 19.4 \div 4.31 =$	246.55

Since all these sums represent the amount of gold required to cover a naked figure, they must be considerably lower than those recorded that (with the possible exception of the arms) involve draped areas.

WEIGHTS OF NIKAI J AND M (IN DRACHMAI)

(allowing .08 cm. of gold plating)

<i>Estimate to cover human woman six feet high.</i>	---atides' Nike (J)		Kallistratos' Nike (M)	
		<i>Estimate</i>		<i>Estimate</i>
800	Head	1000	Head	900
	Jewellery	53	Wreath	100
980	Hand & Arm	980	Jewellery	55
	Bits of gold	10	Hands & Arms	1960
	2044 dr. 3 ob.	2043 dr.	3077 dr. 4 ob.	3015 dr.
1600	Θώραξ	2000	Θώραξ	2000
	Στρόφιον	10	Ζώνιον	10
	2010 dr.	2010 dr.		
			Pins	2
			Χρυσίον Ὀπίσθιον	1380
			3391 dr. 3 ob.	3392 dr.
	Ἀπόπτυγμα	1450	Legs	2400
	Pins	2	Κατωρίδε	930
			3288 dr.	3330 dr.
500	Feet	500		
	1939 dr. 3 ob.	1952 dr.	Ἀπόπτυγμα	1650
980	Hand & Arm	980	Feet	500
	Bracelet	2	Pins	2
			2141 dr. 3 ob.	2152 dr.
	Wreath	70		
1450	Κατωρίδε	900	Total: 1 tal. 5898 dr. 4 ob.	
	1968 dr.	1952 dr.	Estimate: 1 tal. 5889 dr.	
	Ἀκρωτήριον	260		
	Χρυσίον Ὀπίσθιον	1350		
2550	Legs	2400		
	4002 dr. 3 ob.	4010 dr.		
	Total: 1 tal. 5964 dr. 3 ob.			
	Estimate: 1 tal. 5967 dr.			

Now that we have some idea of the weights of the different parts, we might consider the significance of their grouping. Evidently an attempt was made to keep the weights in each *ῥυμός* similar to or a multiple of the unit. Was this for convenience in construction or in weighing? The order of the items indicates that the statues were taken apart bit by bit, beginning in most cases with the head, though two examples

are listed from the feet upward (Nikai *I* and *G*). Presumably, as in a modern bronze statue, the balancing of the heavy mass of metal had seriously to be considered.

In this connection the word *ῥυμός*, which appears in the fourth-century inscriptions as a term for each group, should be examined. The phrase runs: *Νίκη χρυσῇ σταθμὸν ἄγει καθ' ἕκαστον, πρῶτος ῥυμός* (Woodward, No. 16). The word appears also elsewhere in the treasure-lists to indicate a similar group, as of *phialai*.³⁶ Derived from the verb to "drag," *ἔρύω*, it is used in connection with a plough or chariot as a pole, or as a stick for burning on the altar.³⁷ Homolle therefore interpreted it as a shelf on which dedications could be stored. Where the Delian lists read *πρῶτος ῥυμός ἵνα τὸ Α κ.τ.λ.*, he considers that the inventory letters were placed on the shelves.³⁸ The objects too evidently bore similar inventory marks, one of which has survived on the Bronze Head from the Agora.³⁹ But *ῥυμός* cannot mean a shelf on the Nikai inscriptions. The statues were surely assembled as works of art between their annual dismemberments.⁴⁰ Rather we must look to another Attic inscription for the definition of *ῥυμός* as used in reference to the Nikai. The inventories of the Eleusinion for 408 B.C. and the years following methodically enumerate among the *σκεύη*, that is, the tools or apparatus of the sanctuary, many *ῥυμοί* (*I.G.*, I², 313-4, lines 21 ff.). Certain examples are *σεσιδερομένοι*, others are *ασιδέροτοι*, another *δίκρος*.⁴¹ Following these (line 33) are *ἀρτέματα ρρυμοῖς*. *Ἀρτήματα* are, apparently, hanging objects, such as earrings. The clarification of the meaning of this word, taken in consideration with its context here, is offered by a passage in Aristotle's *Mechanics* (853 b, 20). *Διὰ τί, αἱ φάλαγγες τὰ κρέα ἰσῶσιν ἀπὸ μικροῦ ἀρτήματος μεγάλα βάρη. . .* "Why is it that steelyards weigh great weights of meat with a small counterpoise?"

Thus we see that *ἀρτήματα* are the counterpoise weights that run along steelyards and that *ῥυμοί* are the yards, made of wood and in certain cases strengthened with iron.⁴² The association of this word with weighing is ancient. Theognis (77), using the same root, balances gold against silver, *χρυσοῦ τε καὶ ἀργύρου ἀντερύσασθαι*. The same metaphor involving the drag on the yard is reflected in the Delian usage of the word *ὀλκή* (from *ἔλκω*) for *weight*. Likewise the word for *yoke*, *ζυγόν*, as well as *πῆχυς*, was sometimes used for *yard-beam*.⁴³ The word for yard, then, might easily be used to indicate a group of objects weighed on that yard. *Phialai* of similar size would be divided into convenient "beamfuls" or weighing-lots. Similarly, portions of the

³⁶ *I.G.*, II², 1400, lines 33 ff.; 1496, lines 181 ff.; *Inscriptions de Délos*, 399, B, lines 144 ff.

³⁷ *I.G.*, XI, ii, 154, A, line 18, with note *ad loc.*; 203, A, lines 50-51.

³⁸ *B.C.H.*, VI, 1882, p. 90; cf. Schulhof and Huvelin, *B.C.H.*, XXXI, 1907, pp. 53 ff.

³⁹ Thompson, *H.S.C.P.*, Suppl. I, p. 205.

⁴⁰ See below, p. 189, note 53.

⁴¹ *I.G.*, I², 313, lines 21-22, and 28.

⁴² Statements are usually made in handbooks that the steelyard was not used until late in Hellenistic times; see *Brit. Mus. Guide to Gk. and Rom. Life*, p. 152. But the cited passage certainly shows the use of the principle; possibly all such yards were of wood and have therefore perished. The beam of the scales on the Arkesilas vase, for instance, certainly looks wooden.

⁴³ See references in Liddell, Scott, and Jones, *Greek-English Lexicon*, s. *ζυγ*.

Nikai that weighed approximately the same amount would be grouped together to be weighed in series, or possibly on a number of different yards simultaneously. The phrase: *σταθμὸν ἄγει καθ' ἑκάστον (ῥυμόν)* is now clear.

This grouping by *ῥυμοί*, then, indicates in what order the parts of the statue came asunder. What is more, they thus hint at the construction. Much light has been thrown on the construction of chryselephantine statues by those recently discovered at Delphi.⁴⁴ The excavators cite abundant evidence that the paper-thin gold sheets were overlaid on bronze or silver plaques, which in turn were fastened by pointed bronze or silver nails to a wooden core. No trace of metal armature was found, though this silver alloy certainly seemed to demand "le soutien d'une âme intérieure." Certain figures of lions made of silver overlying bronze plates appear to have had no interior supports. In general, then, it may be said that interior bracing was not universally necessary for statues of precious metals, but that large ones and presumably frail ones, including those from which the metal had to be frequently detached, would probably require bracing. We know that colossal gold and ivory figures, like the Parthenos, needed a central mast, probably braced by cross-armature.⁴⁵ Our Nikai, smaller and less complicated, because they were without ivory, would presumably require only such an armature as would hold firm the various portions that built up the bronze core. It must be remembered that the finished statue would probably have been ingeniously fitted together along the lines of drapery and convenient sculptural rather than physical divisions. We know from the way in which ancient moulds are cut that interlocking rather than easy severance determined the partition.⁴⁶ Any armature would then be intended to strengthen the assemblage of detachable parts. At least a few bolts or pins must have been needed to secure the final key points of the outer layer of gold itself. In the archaic statues from Delphi, silver rivets with golden heads ornamented as rosettes were used to pin the gold plating securely to its backing. Likewise we should expect the ornaments or accessories of a Nike to be pinned to the bronze within, and such pins would then act as the key bolts to release the outer gold when a knowing hand undid them. Just such pins are listed for the Nikai as *ῥῆλω, περόναι*.⁴⁷

In connection with this problem of construction, another group of inscriptions should be mentioned. In the meticulous lists of junk stored in the Chalkotheke on the Acropolis in the years 369-367 B.C. (*I.G.*, II², *Addenda* 1424a, line 378, and 1425 B,

⁴⁴ Amandry, *B.C.H.*, LIII, 1939, pp. 86 ff.

⁴⁵ Dinsmoor, *A.J.A.*, XXXVIII, 1934, p. 95, fig. 2. Cf. Waldstein's elaborate reconstruction, *Essays on the Art of Pheidias*, pp. 280 ff.

⁴⁶ C. C. Edgar, *Greek Moulds, Cat. gén. des ant. du musée de Caire, passim*. Cf. *Jahreshefte*, VII, 1904, pp. 154 ff.

⁴⁷ See below, p. 198. There is such a bronze nail with a gold head in the Persepolis Collection in the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton.

line 382) appears a curious item. Following keys, nails, clamps, spear-butts, colanders, and the like occurs this phrase: *διερείσματα τῶν Νικῶν* ΠΠ. The Nikai of the Acropolis would in all probability be the golden statues, but what are *διερείσματα*? The verb *ἐρείδω* means *to brace*, as in the function of the collar-bones.⁴⁸ The noun is used in the inscription regarding the Arsenal of Philo (347/6 B.C.) in the sense of a *supporting beam*. Somewhat later, on the Delian inventories the word *ἔρεισμα* is used in connection with small bronze and iron statues.⁴⁹ Finally, we have the definition of the grammarian Photius *κνημία: τὰ ἐν τοῖς θρόνοις καὶ τροχοῖς διερείσματα*.



Fig. 6. Kertch Vase Showing Gilded *Karōîn*

(Schefold, *Kertsch. Vas.*, pl. 9a)

Now we can test the obvious meaning, that is, *brace* or *strut*, by studying the use of the word on the Parthenon treasure-lists. Here it is always found in the plural. Three classes of objects boast *διερείσματα*: Nikai, incense-burners, and ritual baskets. Now, these baskets often have large loop-handles of wickerwork and when the basket was reproduced in precious metal, the "wickerwork" naturally took the form of plated rods (Fig. 6).⁵¹ Similarly, incense-burners, or thymiateria, of the period would have had a tripod base, open or filled with a plaque on each side, and a tall central

⁴⁸ Soranus Medicus, IV, 2, 63.

⁴⁹ *Inscr. de Délos*, 379, line 29; 442, line 171.

⁵⁰ Thymiateria: *I.G.*, II², 1382, line 5; 1400, lines 12-13; 1436, lines 44, 47. Baskets: *I.G.*, II², 1425, line 83.

⁵¹ L. Deubner, "Hochzeit und Opferkorb," *Jahrbuch*, XL, 1925, pp. 218-219, figs. 17, 18, 22. Schefold, *Kertscher Vasen*, pl. 9a.

rod, ornamented with leaves or elaborate decorative disks.⁵² Since an extravagant amount of solid metal would have been needed to make these parts strong enough, the cost was easily cut down by employing plated bronze rods in the projecting parts or in the tripod base.

The common fundamental need, then, in these three classes of dedications, Nikai, thymiateria, and baskets, was the need of interior support. The nature of the word itself suggests that the support took the form of an armature, or internal rods. The regular use of the plural implies that the braces came in a set. It is not impossible that in such large figures, the *διερείσματα* took the form of inner bronze statues, made in separate pieces, for easy dismemberment, as the Agora Head indicates. In any case, seven *διερείσματα* certainly implies seven Nikai, for seven can scarcely be divided plausibly among the numerous figures of the late fifth century.⁵³



Fig. 7. Nike on Hand of Varvakeion Parthenos

(Wilkinson, *Greek Sculpt.*, p. 47)

STYLE

In attempting to reconstruct these figures, we must naturally bear in mind the usual type for a Nike of the period. The prototype must surely have been the Nike on the hand of the statue of the Parthenos by Pheidias (Fig. 7). It is fairly consistently given in the copies as a figure floating quietly forward, holding a fillet or an open wreath stretched between its two hands. A great fold of himation is swung across the body over the left arm. It was six feet high.

Markedly different from this sober type is the Nike of Paionios. It is flying forward with much more spirit; the drapery, driven against the body by the force of the wind, pulls backward in thick folds. The left arm is raised, lifting up the great himation like a huge sail. It is nine feet high and made to be set on a tall base.

⁵² K. Wigand, "Thymiateria," *Bonner Jahrb.*, CXXII, 1912, pp. 46 ff.

⁵³ Woodward's suggestion that they were divided into groups, *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1937, p. 168, to fit the two Nikai that survived into the fourth century, "as the Nikai were kept in separate pieces," is unattractive. We have no definite evidence that the Nikai were in a perpetual state of dismemberment. The fact that thieves had to *cut off* the akroteria implies that the figures were standing as complete statues at the time. We should therefore suppose *διερείσματα* would have been in active service in the Parthenon as long as the Nikai existed. Rather, we should assume that the *διερείσματα*, stored away with junk, belonged to the Nikai of the fifth century, now *ἄχρηστοι*, *ἄχρηστοι*. They could easily have been brought into the Chalkotheke by Androtion, when he was tidying up the Parthenon in 370 B.C. (see pp. 177, 208); cf. Thompson, *H.S.C.P.*, Supplement I, p. 205.

The figures from the reliefs of the parapet of the temple of Athena-Nike show various poses, some standing, some moving (Fig. 8).⁵⁴ The drapery is consistently



Fig. 8. Nike from Parapet

clinging and modelled to give movement and the flicker of light to the figures. They are all about three feet high.

Finally, there are six Roman copies of Nikai that must be considered in relation

⁵⁴ R. Carpenter, *The Sculpture of the Nike Temple Parapet*, p. 31.

to the type. Three are now in Berlin,⁵⁵ others in Paris, Alexandria, and Oxford.⁵⁶ They all reproduce, with slight variations, a floating Nike, frontal and rather rigid in composition, with the drapery transparent over the legs, but drawn as a broad and heavy mass across the body to hang over the left arm (Fig. 9). Two of these (Berlin K 181-2) are six feet high; one is only four feet high (Berlin K 183). That these



Fig. 9. Nike in Berlin

(Blümel, *Staatl. Museen zu Berlin, Röm. Kopien gr. Skulpt.*, K 182)

copies reflect an important monumental statue is obvious. Bulle relates them to the bronze Nike set up to celebrate Sphakteria, that is, shortly after 425 B.C.⁵⁷ But the type and the style seem distinctly earlier than those of the Nike of Paionios, which commemorates the same event. The frontality and the heavier drapery, not to mention the pose, are much closer to those of the Nike of the Parthenos, as has been pointed

⁵⁵ C. Blümel, *Staatl. Museen zu Berlin, Röm. Kopien gr. Skulpt. des fünften Jahrh.*, K 181-3, pls. 74-76.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, fig. 9. H. Schrader, "Das Zeusbild des Pheidias in Olympia," *Jahrbuch*, LVI, 1941, pp. 13 ff.

⁵⁷ Roscher, *Lexikon*, III, 338.

out by Blümel⁵⁸ and Schrader. Schrader considers the set very Pheidian and probably close to the Nikai on the hands of the two colossi. But, as Blümel notes, the drapery seems post-Pheidian in spirit. The period 435-425 B.C. seems, according to modern ideas, more plausible than that after 425 B.C. It must be noted that structurally the statues are early and that the transparent drapery has been carved on the surface by the copyist rather than created by the sculptor. The sharp incisions and furrows contrasted with broad smooth areas certainly suggest a metal original. For our Nike statues which have—strange to relate—a date, but no type, these figures of the correct date and plausible type offer valuable suggestions. It even is not impossible that the inner statues of our Nikai, the *διερείσματα*, survived into the Roman period, to inspire the copyists for the Italian market. That would account for the peculiar fact that two copies turned up together and that they differ from each other in significant details.⁵⁹

For the Nike (*M*) dedicated in 374 B.C., we may perhaps safely use the numerous figures on coins, particularly on the gold coins of Alexander (Fig. 2).⁶⁰ They stand or move slowly; they wear rather heavy drapery; their general type is that of the Eirene of Kephisodotos, which dates in the same period as the Nike. In their hands these Nikai hold a wreath or ship's ornaments as symbols of victory.

Taking these general types as standards, it will now be illuminating to examine each inscription in order to paint in the detail and personal character of each Nike. We must examine each item on the lists, make certain of the exact meaning of each word and try to find an illustration for each item on a contemporary monument. For the chronology of the inscriptions and epigraphic detail, we shall follow the fundamental studies of Professor Woodward.⁶¹

DESCRIPTION

In order to determine the meaning or significance of the terms used on the inscriptions, it would seem most convenient to group them according to subject, to examine them in detail, and then to correlate the results with reference to the various Nikai. Instances are referred to according to the citations in the List of Nikai (*supra*, pp. 174 ff.). In several cases, the given word could be convincingly restored so that its absence from one inscription is often merely fortuitous and the argument from silence cannot be employed.

⁵⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 42.

⁵⁹ Note that the type is identical, so far as the preservation goes, but that the style, particularly of the drapery and its arrangement over the knees, differs. The curious blank space on the right thigh, showing a break in the Paris statue, an untreated area on the Berlin copies, and an attachment mark on the Oxford piece, has a strange outline that lends itself to the restoration of an aphlaston of the type seen on the red-figured sherds, held close against the body. See below, p. 201.

⁶⁰ Seltman, *Gk. Coins*, pl. XLVIII, 1, 2, 9; E. Babelon, *Rev. Num.*, 1907, pp. 1 ff.; P. Lederer, *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, XXXIII, 1922, pp. 185 ff.

⁶¹ *Αρχ. Έφ.*, 1937, pp. 159 ff.; *H.S.C.P.*, Suppl. I, pp. 377 ff. I have checked each inscription for which a squeeze is on file at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton.

PARTS OF THE BODY

Χείρ, Σκέλε, Πόδε. No peculiarities can be discerned in the usage of these words as arm (and hand), legs, feet.

Πρόσωπον, Κεφαλή. For *head*, however, the fifth-century examples differ from those of the fourth century; the former use *πρόσωπον*; the latter *κεφαλή*.⁶² Of the numerous citations in Liddell and Scott for *πρόσωπον* from Homer downward, each refers clearly to the face or front part of the head alone. But in early Attic Greek the word *κεφαλή* is rare, occurring only once in Aischylos and in Sophokles, but in Euripides it is common.⁶³ In the treasure-lists of the later fifth century, it occurs once (*I.G.*, I², 276, line 11). It seems possible, therefore, that it was not a common Attic word and that the word *πρόσωπον* was more familiar to the recorders.

Θώραξ. This usually means a breast-plate. But since *Nikai* of the period are never armed, the recorders of the treasure-lists⁶⁴ must have used the word according to medical usage to mean *torso*, ἀπ' αὐχένος μέχρι αἰδοίων.⁶⁵ This interpretation is supported by the fact that our calculation for the human torso, measured from shoulders to hips, falls 400 dr. short of the figure given, with little margin of error, on the 2nd ῥυμός of *Nike J*. The division between thorax and legs was probably made below the hips. This assumption is corroborated by the fact that our calculation for the human legs becomes 150 dr. too heavy. Allowances for drapery simply cannot be made exact.

ORNAMENTS

Στεφάνη. This was worn by *Nikai J* and *M*.⁶⁶ The word appears to be used of almost any ornament that binds the head, such as a fillet or diadem.⁶⁷ Possibly, when worn alone, it would resemble a fine example in the British Museum.⁶⁸ Where both *στεφάνη* and *στέφανος* are worn, as by *Nike M*, the *στεφάνη* would be a fillet like those shown beneath wreaths on the Kertch vases (Fig. 10).⁶⁹

⁶² *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 309, No. 27, line 9 (*Nike E*). Woodward, No. 3, line 4; Woodward, No. 4, line 8 (*Nike I*). *I.G.*, II², 1388, line 17; 1407, line 8; 1440, line 41 (*Nike J*). *I.G.*, II², *Addenda* 1424a, line 51; 1425, line 47; *Addenda* 1428, line 10; 1431, line 7 (*Nike M*).

⁶³ See references in Liddell, Scott, and Jones, *Greek-English Lexicon*, s. vv. *κεφαλή*, *πρόσωπον*.

⁶⁴ *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, pp. 309-310, No. 27, line 8, and No. 28, line 5 (*Nikai E* and *J*). Cf. *I.G.*, II², 1388, line 19; 1407, line 9; *Addenda* 1428, line 30 (*Nike J*); and *Addenda* 1424a, line 55; 1425, line 54; *Addenda* 1428, line 16 (*Nike M*).

⁶⁵ Aristotle, *H.A.*, 1, 7, 1 (491a). Cf. Hippokrates, *De arte*, 10, etc.

⁶⁶ *I.G.*, II², 1388, line 17; 1407, line 8; *Addenda* 1424a, line 6; *Addenda* 1428, line 27; Woodward, No. 16, line 41 (*Nike J*). II², *Addenda* 1424a, line 51; 1425, line 47; 1431, line 7 (*Nike M*).

⁶⁷ Boeckh, *Staatshaushaltung*, II, p. 243.

⁶⁸ *Cat. of Jewellery*, pl. XXVII, 1607, 1609-10.

⁶⁹ W. Hahland, *Vasen um Meidias, passim*, and K. Schefold, *Kertsch. Vasen*, pl. 13a.

Στέφανος. The vases of the latter part of the fifth and of the fourth century begin to show Eros and Nike carrying wreaths composed of leaves, made up as finished crowns.⁷⁰ They differ from the earlier type of wreath opened out like a fillet to tie in place around the head, such as appears, for instance, on vases and on that early reflection of the Parthenos type on the coins of Aphrodisias.⁷¹ These crowns varied considerably in weight; those offered human beings usually weighed from 500 to



Fig. 10. Kertch Vase

(Schefold, *Kertsch. Vas.*, pl. 13a)

1000 drachmai, but the wreath on the head of the Nike held by the Parthenos is recorded at only 70 drachmai. The heaviest gold crown now in the British Museum, on the other hand, weighs only *ca.* 55 drachmai,⁷² and others are much flimsier, being mere grave jewellery. The crowns worn and held by our Nikai should, on the analogy of size, resemble that belonging to Athena's own Nike. When the wreath of Nike *M*, missing at first, is added on the record, the increased weight is 100 drachmai and 3 obols.

⁷⁰ Hahland, *op. cit.*, pl. 3. *I.G.*, II², 1388, line 22; 1400, line 11; *Addenda* 1424a, line 17 (Nike *J*). II², 1502, line 1 (Nike *L*). *Addenda* 1424a, line 51; 1425, lines 48-49 (Nike *M*).

⁷¹ *A.J.A.*, XXXVIII, 1934, p. 104, fig. 4.

⁷² *Cat. of Jewellery*, no. 1628, pl. XXVIII.

Ἐνωιδίω, Ἐνώδια. The etymology of this word is self-evident. It is used by Aischylos⁷³ and elsewhere on the treasure-lists (*I.G.*, I², 288, line 229). Types of ear-rings that were popular in the late fifth century were the disk, leech, and simple pendant, of which the rosette disk with dangling inverted pyramid appears on the Parthenos as shown by the Aspasioi gem and the Kul Oba medallions.⁷⁴ In the fourth century, a more elaborate type, possibly with a pendant in the form of a flying Nike, would be probable.⁷⁵

Ὅρμος. This necklace seems to have been an essential part of the Nike's attire and appears on the well-preserved inscriptions.⁷⁶ To judge from the Delian inscriptions, it was a necklace with pendants. The pendants may take the forms of amphorae, of nuts, of spears, or again, of rosettes. Numerous examples give us a clear picture of the type (Figs. 10, 11).⁷⁷

Ἐποδερίς. Several Nikai (*E. J. M.*),⁷⁸ wear another necklace, to which Aristotle likens the eggs of a snake.⁷⁹ We may conjecture that the necklace was composed of beads and that it lay at the base of the throat. Contemporary figures are shown wearing two necklaces, of which only one has pendants (Fig. 11).⁸⁰

Περιτραχηλίδιον. Nike *J.*, despite the two preceding necklaces, finds room, from 385/4 B.C. onward, to add a περιτραχηλίδιον.⁸¹ The word does not appear to occur elsewhere. Περιτραχήλιον is used by Plutarch⁸² as the collar (?) of a helmet. It is difficult to see exactly how the word could be applied to a woman's costume except in the sense of a necklace. It is peculiar, however, that the addition of the περιτραχηλίδιον does not add to the total weight of the ῥνμός but actually, where the weight is preserved, the total is 62 drachmai short. It is not impossible, therefore, that a difference in description after the revision that took place at this time may account for the new item. Not unlikely is the possibility that the cross-bands of the στρόφιον, which became unfashionable in the fourth century, were described as a separate item in the later lists.⁸³

⁷³ Fragment 102 (Nauck²). *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 310, no. 28, line 3; *I.G.*, II², 1388, line 17; *Addenda* 1428, line 27 (Nike *J.*). *Addenda* 1424a, line 52 (Nike *M.*).

⁷⁴ Cf. Dinsmoor, *A.J.A.*, XXXVIII, 1934, p. 104, fig. 4.; and cf. *Olynthus*, IV, no. 410.

⁷⁵ *Cat. of Jewellery in the British Museum*, pl. XXXII and fig. 62.

⁷⁶ See all well-preserved inscriptions for Nikai *G, I, J, M.*

⁷⁷ *Cat. of Jewellery in the Brit. Mus.*, pl. XXXV, nos. 1947, 1952; pl. XXXVI, nos. 1950, 1957, etc.; C. Alexander, *Jewelry*, pp. 5 ff.

⁷⁸ *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 309, no. 27, lines 9-10 (Nike *E.*). Woodward, No. 5, line 14; 1388, line 17; 1400, lines 8-9; *Addenda* 1428, line 27 (Nike *J.*). *Addenda* 1424a, line 52; 1425, line 50; 1431, line 9 (Nike *M.*).

⁷⁹ *H.A.*, 5, 34 (558b).

⁸⁰ Statue of Athena from the Acropolis, G. Dickins, *Cat. of Acrop. Mus.*, no. 1337.

⁸¹ *I.G.*, II², 1407, line 9; *Addenda* 1424a, line 11; *Addenda* 1428, line 31 (Nike *J.*).

⁸² *Alexander*, 32.

⁸³ They are very rare on Kertch vases and on Athenian grave stelai of the early fourth century.



Fig. 11. Statue of Athena, Acropolis

Ἀμφιδέα. Another essential ornament for a lady of the period was the bracelet.⁸⁴ Aristophanes lists ἀμφιδέα among other ornaments, of which we see many examples among the well-dressed damsels of the Meidian period (cf. Fig. 10).⁸⁵ The commonest forms at this time were hoops ending in lion or ram heads or twists finished in snake heads.⁸⁶ They were usually worn above the wrist.

Στρόφιον. This has been translated as *breast-band* on the evidence of certain Aristophanic passages.⁸⁷ But the substitution of the word ζώνιον where στρόφιον had been used in the fifth-century inscriptions⁸⁸ hints that this interpretation may be inaccurate. Certainly there is no evidence at this period for a broad band that bound the breasts in the manner of the Hellenistic κεστός. The στρόφιον, to show on a gold statue, would have to be worn on top of the drapery. It must therefore be interpreted as the band, sometimes decidedly broad, that is worn by active figures, such as charioteers or Nikai, crossed between the breasts and tied around the waist.⁸⁹ The Nikai on the Parapet reliefs as well as the copies in Berlin wear it. The word στρόφιον derived from στρέφω simply means a cord, which suits this ornament perfectly. An ornate example in the British Museum, of Hellenistic times,⁹⁰ rendered in gold weighs only a little over four drachmai. Ζώνιον on the other hand may mean only the girdle proper, for the cross-bands seem to fall into abeyance just at the time of the dedication of the Nike.⁹¹

Ἠλῶ, Περόνας. The difference between these two words appears to be that the former designates an ornamental pin and the latter a long-spiked pin or brooch. This difference is borne out by our inscriptions. Ἠλῶ usually occur only in the first ῥνμός.⁹² They would then be short ornamental studs for fastening the στεφάνη or the necklaces to the throat. Holes for such pins are visible on the Nikai of the Parapet (Fig. 8) and on the Bronze Head (Fig. 4).⁹³ Περόνας are listed in conjunction with the feet

⁸⁴ Woodward, No. 3, line 10; II², 1388, lines 18, 22; 1400, lines 9, 11; *Addenda* 1424a, lines 8, 16; *Addenda* 1428, lines 28, 36 (Nike J). Woodward, No. 3, lines 14-15 (Nike K). II², *Addenda* 1424a, line 53; 1425, line 51; 1431, line 10 (Nike M).

⁸⁵ Aristophanes, fragment 320. 11; Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung*, figs. 560 ff.

⁸⁶ *Cat. of Jewellery in the Brit. Mus.*, pl. XXXIX.

⁸⁷ *Lys.*, 931; *Thesm.*, 255.

⁸⁸ Στρόφιον: Woodward, No. 5, line 16; *I.G.*, II², 1388, line 19; 1393, line 8; 1400, lines 9-10; 1407, line 9; *Addenda* 1424a, line 10; *Addenda* 1428, line 30 (Nike J). Woodward, No. 4, line 3 (Nike L). Ζώνιον: II², *Addenda* 1424a, line 55; 1425, line 55, reading ξώ]νιο[ν (Nike M).

⁸⁹ Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung*, figs. 560 ff.

⁹⁰ *Cat. of Jewellery in the Brit. Mus.*, pl. XXXVIII, 1984.

⁹¹ They do not often appear on Kertch vases; see above, p. 195.

⁹² Woodward, No. 4, line 9 (Nike I). *I.G.*, II², 1388, line 17; 1400, line 9; *Addenda* 1424a, line 7; and *Addenda* 1428, line 27 (Nike J). II², 1425, line 52 (Nike M).

⁹³ Thompson, *H.S.C.P.*, Suppl. I, p. 183, note 2.

and the ἀπόπτυγμα (Nike I), with θώραξ and στρόφιον (Nike L), with legs and κατωρίδε (Nike L), as well as with θώραξ and ζώνιον (Nike M). Of the περονίδες listed with the feet of Nike M, one is noted as "shut up" or "thrust in place."

The number of these pins and the variety of their usage suggest that they were not purely ornamental. But the fact that they were of gold forbids their being of any serious structural value. At Delphi silver pins, of some structural use, were given golden heads so that they appeared as part of the surface decoration.⁹⁴ Presumably those of the Nikai played a similar rôle.

ACCESSORIES AND MISCELLANIES

Ἀπόπτυγμα is known only from the Nike inscriptions. Long ago Boeckh identified it as the overfold of the chiton,⁹⁵ a definition that has established itself among archaeologists. The Liddell, Scott, and Jones *Greek-English Lexicon* defines it slightly differently, as *part of the chiton folded back*. Indeed, the force of ἀπό would scarcely be expected to suggest the loosely hanging overfold, for it seems rather to mean *un- or out-fold* than *turned over*.

The evidence from the inscriptions themselves is scanty. The ἀπόπτυγμα is weighed with (a) the θώραξ,⁹⁶ (b) the right hand,⁹⁷ (c) the feet.⁹⁸ Its weight we have estimated at 1450-1650 drachmai, which is one of the heaviest items. It appears also to be the most variable item on the Nike lists.

Glancing at the monuments contemporary with the inscriptions, we find that the overfold of the chiton varies considerably in size. The overfolds worn by the Nikai of the Parapet and by the Nereids have lost the heavy character of the Pheidian form; they are often merely a little ripple of drapery. But on the Nike of the Parthenos and on the Berlin figures a great broad area of himation is folded back across the thighs so that the figure is divided in thirds: θώραξ, ἀπόπτυγμα, and legs. Or again, on the Nike of Paionios a great sweep of drapery, both of the chiton and of the himation, blows back, even close to the feet, so that again the body might be conveniently divided into thirds: θώραξ, legs, and ἀπόπτυγμα, which could be weighed with the feet. Similarly, on the fourth-century coins (Fig. 2) a triple division is made by balancing θώραξ and legs against the long overfold which reaches to the knees. It seems, therefore, that the ἀπόπτυγμα was roughly used of any large unfolded or open area of drapery for which no other category was obvious, and in limiting it to a specific area of the chiton, archaeologists are making a scientific term of a vague one.

⁹⁴ *B.C.H.*, LIII, 1934, p. 97. See above, p. 187.

⁹⁵ *Staatshaushaltung*², II, p. 244.

⁹⁶ *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 209, no. 27, lines 7-8 (Nike E).

⁹⁷ Woodward, No. 3, line 3; *idem*, No. 4, line 7 (Nike I).

⁹⁸ *I.G.*, II², 1388, line 20; 1400, line 10; *Addenda* 1428, line 33 (Nike J). *I.G.*, II², *Addenda* 1424a, line 60; 1425, line 60 (Nike M).

The phrase *τοῦπισθεν θοῖματίον*⁹⁹ brings to mind the back of the cloak that flies out behind the Nike of Paionios. It would probably be that portion held up by the hand. It seems probable that *χρυσίον ὀπίσθιον*¹⁰⁰ refers to the same thing. *Χρυσίον* is merely a plate of gold. The weight which we have estimated for it, 1350-1380 drachmai, less than those of the *θώραξ* and the *ἀπόπτυγμα*, would seem reasonable for a thin sheet of flying drapery.

Στολίδς the diminutive of *στολή*, a garment, was commonly used for the folds of garments.¹⁰¹ That would seem its most plausible meaning in the later lists for Nike *J*.¹⁰² For since the weight of the *ῥυμός* decreases when the *στολίδες* first appear, we must suppose that they were originally part of the garment, become detached and therefore listed separately. The use of the dual suggests a balanced pair, perhaps the fold hanging down by either arm.

Χρυσίδια, *Χρυσία*. The peculiarity of these scraps of gold is that they appear only on the lists for Nike *J*. Moreover, they increase with time. Appearing at first only in the first *ῥυμός* they finally seem to occur in all five *ῥυμοί*.¹⁰³ It has been suggested that they were the key bits of gold that were slipped into the grooves as on the Bronze Head from the Agora.¹⁰⁴ But in that case they should have existed in all the *ῥυμοί* for all the Nikai. Possibly the earlier example employed them in this fashion, and as time went on they broke up and thus seemed to increase, whereas for the later Nike some more satisfactory device was used. But when we consider that the word *χρυσίον* elsewhere was used of odd bits or objects hard to name otherwise, like the *χρυσίον ὀπίσθιον*, we are driven to the conclusion that the useful word included any part or accessory that the recorders found hard to define or identify.

Κατωρίδες, which appear on the lists for Nike *J* and Nike *M*, have usually been interpreted as the "pendent ends of the wreath."¹⁰⁵ This interpretation is probably based on the fact that the words follow the *στέφανος* held by Nike *J*. But on the inscriptions relating to Nike *M* they accompany the legs, and are even joined to them by an

⁹⁹ *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 309, No. 27, line 6 (Nike *E*).

¹⁰⁰ Woodward, No. 3, line 12; II², 1388, lines 23-24 (reading *ἀκρωτ[ή]ριον, χρυσίον ὀπ[ίσθ]ιον*); 1400, lines 11-12 (reading *ἀκρωτήριον, χρυσίον ὀπίσθιον*); 1425, lines 14-15; 1431, line 2 (Nike *J*). II², *Addenda* 1424a, line 56; 1425, line 55 (Nike *M*). *Ὀπίσθιον* alone is found in II², 1407, line 11 (reading *ἀκρωτήριον, ὀπίσθιον*), and *Addenda* 1424a, line 19 (Nike *J*).

¹⁰¹ Euripides, *Bacchae*, 936.

¹⁰² *I.G.*, II², *Addenda* 1424a, line 11, and *Addenda* 1428, line 31.

¹⁰³ Woodward, No. 3, line 10; II², 1407, lines 9-10; *Addenda* 1424a, lines 8, 11, 14, 17, 20; 1425, line 15; *Addenda* 1428, lines 28-29, 31-32, 34, 37-38.

¹⁰⁴ Thompson, *H.S.C.P.*, Suppl. I, p. 202.

¹⁰⁵ *I.G.*, II², 1388, line 22; 1400, line 11 (Nike *J*); *Addenda* 1424a, line 59 (Nike *M*). See the definition in Liddell, Scott, and Jones, *Greek-English Lexicon*, s.v.

emphatic *καί*. Like legs, arms, and feet, they are expressed by the dual. The weight, 900-1000 drachmai, is much too heavy for fillets.

The noun *κατωρίς* is otherwise unknown, but an adjective *κατώρης* and a variant *κατήρος* occur.¹⁰⁶ Hesychius derives this from *κάτω ῥέπων*, an etymology which does not look likely and has not been accepted by modern scholars. Boisacq, while deriving the word from *κατα* + *αορ*, retains the meaning of *pendent*.¹⁰⁷ *Καταίρω* is commonly used of birds and bees swooping down; the adjective is applied to a crowd of children hanging on their mother's neck, or to a dangling *τελαμών*.¹⁰⁸ *Κατωρίδε*, then, must be a pair of sizable objects which obviously "dangle" or "hang down." The wings alone can fulfill these requirements. In fact, *κατωρίδε* is the only word on the lists that could possibly be construed as wings. The weight, tested against a very rough calculation, is possible, though somewhat light.¹⁰⁹ The only alternative, that the Nikai did not have wings, seems, on close examination of the literature concerning the *ἄπτερος* type, to be highly unlikely.¹¹⁰ Athena, as Nike, might conceivably be wingless, but Nike on all Attic monuments of the period is invariably winged and the exceptions in Russia and South Italy seem themselves to be flukes.¹¹¹ Barring other evidence then, we must accept that it is the most likely term on the lists, and that the word is otherwise unknown, like certain other expressions on these lists, and must be explained by the fact that recorders did not use literary expressions, but technical jargon.

Συν[ωρίδε. Woodward, No. 3, reads in *I.G.*, I², 369, line 5: *χέρ ἄκρα ἀριστερά, συν[ωρίδε δύο*.¹¹² If correct, this phrase would be the only occurrence on the Nikai inscriptions. But the meaning, *couplings* or *fetters* is not intelligible in the context. More plausible would be the restoration of a noun after *χείρ*, such as *σὺν ἀμφιδέα*, that is, the hand with the bracelet, on the analogy of occasional descriptive phrases

¹⁰⁶ *Anth. Pal.*, V, 260 (Paton: 259 Stadtmüller).

¹⁰⁷ *Dictionnaire étymologique*, s.v. *καταίρω*; cf. N. De Witt, *Class. Phil.*, III, 1908, pp. 31 ff.

¹⁰⁸ Euripides, *Troïades*, 1090; Apollonius Rhodius, II, 1041.

¹⁰⁹ Let us consider each wing roughly as a right-angled triangle having its height equal to 3/4 of the height of the statue (6 ft.), its base equal to 1/6 of the height of the statue (6 ft.). Then, two such triangles, that is the two wings, would make up a rectangle of which the area can be estimated by multiplying height by width. Thus we derive the formula:

$$\frac{3}{4} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} 6 \text{ ft.} \\ 180 \text{ cm.} \end{array} \right\} \times \frac{1}{6} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} 6 \text{ ft.} \\ 180 \text{ cm.} \end{array} \right\} \times .08 \times 19.4 = \text{grams of gold.}$$

Divide by 4.31 gr. to the drachma:

$$\frac{3}{4} \times 180 \times 30 \times .08 \times 19.4 \div 4.31 = \text{ca. } 1450 \text{ dr. for the two wings.}$$

This actually must be large, for it does not allow for the undercut tapering of the wings shown on the monuments.

¹¹⁰ Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. *Νίκη* (Bernert).

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, cols. 288 f.

¹¹² Woodward's printer here, as several times in this text, has treated him shabbily: at *χέρ ἄκρα* [*(ἀ)ριστερά, συν[ο]* - the squeeze at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton reads *ΧΕΡ ΑΚΡΑ ΑΡΙΣΤΕΡΑ ΣΥΝ* clearly.

such as *στέφανος ὁ ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ*. Or it might be the object held in the hand, like *ἀκρωτήριον*.

Ἀκρωτήριον. An *ἀκρωτήριον* is listed for Nikai *F*, *H*, *I*, *J*,¹¹³ but not for Nike *M*. It is therefore a common but not an essential attribute of a Nike. It is usually associated in the lists with the hands; in one case with the fingers of the left hand; in another with the right hand. Its weight must not be more than 300 dr.

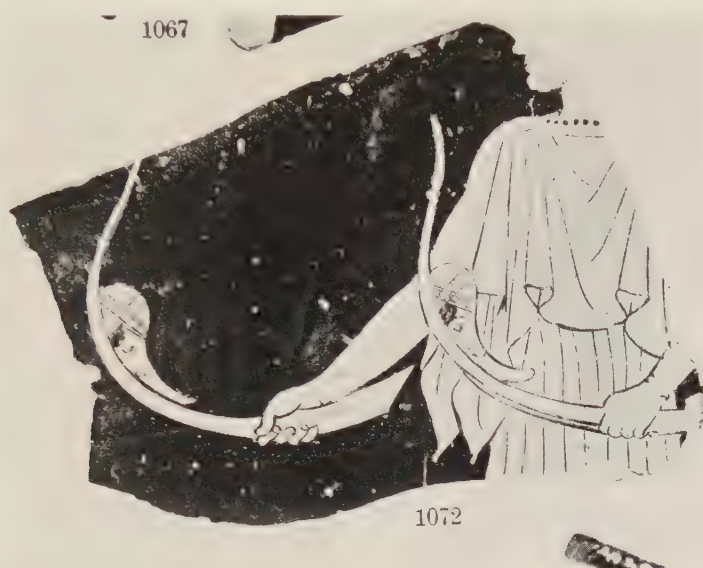


Fig. 12. Female Figure Holding Stern-Ornaments of Ship

(From Graef-Langlotz, *Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen*, Plate 83)

In the fifth century, the word was used for the extremities or tips of any object, especially of parts of the body. *Ἀκρωτηριάζειν* meant to cut off the *ἀκρωτήρια*, either the hands and feet of an enemy or the prow and stern ornaments of a ship. These *ἀκρωτήρια* made a handsome offering to a god.¹¹⁴ The inscription of the Stoa of the Athenians at Delphi gives a famous instance:¹¹⁵ *Ἀθηναῖοι ἀνέθεσαν τὴν στοὰν καὶ τὰ ὀπλ[α κ]αὶ τὰ κρωτήρια ἐλόντες τῶν πολε[μίων]*. Again, we note that the great statue made from the booty of the Persian wars, eighteen feet high, held an akroterion,¹¹⁶ *ἔχων ἐν τῇ χειρὶ ἀκρωτήριον νεός*. Possibly this figure is reflected on two red-figure fragments from the Athenian Acropolis *ca.* 460 B.C. (one shown in Fig. 12) with

¹¹³ *I.G.*, I², 368, line 20 (Nike *F*). Woodward, No. 3, line 5; *idem*, No. 4, line 9 (Nike *I*). Woodward, No. 3, line 1 (Nike *H*?). Woodward, No. 3, line 12; II², 1388, line 23; 1400, line 11; 1407, line 11; *Addenda* 1424a, line 19; *Addenda* 1428, line 39 (Nike *J*).

¹¹⁴ Herodotos, III, 59.

¹¹⁵ M. Tod, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, p. 21, no. 18.

¹¹⁶ Herodotos, VIII, 121.

female figures holding the stern-ornament of a ship, the aphlaston.¹¹⁷ In later times, another ship-ornament, the stylis, a tall yard-arm or signal mast of the flag-ship (Fig. 13), is shown in the hands of Nikai as a victorious emblem.¹¹⁸ Sometimes both ornaments are held by one figure, especially on the Panathenaic vases and coins of



Fig. 13. Ship Showing Stylis and Aphlaston

(*Jahrbuch*, XLII, 1927, p. 180)

the fourth century (Figs. 2, 14). Both these ornaments were called ἀκρωτήρια or ἀκροστόλια.¹¹⁹

The stylis, as the most awkward piece, is usually shown in the left hand, the aphlaston in the right. This fact may explain the ἀστέρε or stars that flash unexpectedly in the record for Timodemos' Nike (Κ).¹²⁰ They appear in conjunction with

¹¹⁷ Graef-Langlotz, *Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen*, II, pl. 83, nos. 1071-2; cf. pl. 40, no. 516. H. Diels, "Das Aphlaston der antiken Schiffe," *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde*, XXV, 1915, pp. 61 ff.

¹¹⁸ For stylis, see L. Deubner, "Dionysos und die Anthesterien," *Jahrbuch*, XLII, 1927, pp. 180 ff., figs. 12-16.

¹¹⁹ C. Torr, *Greek Ships*, p. 68, note. For coins, cf. J. Svoronos, *Journ. int. d'arch. numismatique*, 1914, pp. 84 ff.; E. Newell, *Coinages of Demetrius*, pp. 32, 85 f. For Panathenaic vases dating 336/5, 333/2, 321/0 B.C. cf. Thompson, *H.S.C.P.*, Supplement I, p. 206; cf. Swindler, *Ancient Painting*, fig. 347. After writing the above I found that a similar interpretation has been offered by H. T. Wade-Gery, *J.H.S.*, LIII, 1933, pp. 99 ff. However, he draws attention to a gem (Furtwaengler, *Ant. Gem.*, pl. IX, 33) which he calls a flying Nike. The type is actually that of the Athena Parthenos, holding an aphlaston, but not winged. This might be taken to represent one of our Nikai, were it not that the spear, shield, and serpent are never mentioned on any of the Nikai inscriptions.

¹²⁰ Woodward, No. 3, line 14.

the left hand and may well have been the ornaments of the Dioskouroi that often decorated the cross-bar of the stylis.¹²¹

Heretofore, the usual interpretation of the word ἀκρωτήριον in these inscriptions has been based on a passage in Demosthenes. He describes the crime of those thieves that stole the ἀκρωτήρια from the Nike and committed suicide (XXIV, 121): . . . οἱ τὰ ἀκρωτήρια τῆς Νίκης περικόφαντες ἀπώλοντ' αὐτοὶ ὑφ' αὐτῶν. . . . The scholiasts on Demosthenes, *ad. loc.* (ed. Dindorf, *Demosthenes*, IX [Oxford, 1851], p. 779, 738, 14) define the ἀκρωτήρια as τῆς Νίκης τῶν πτερῶν τὰ ἄκρα· ἢ αὐτὰς τὰς πτέρυγας, and add ἀκρωτήρια λέγει οἷονεὶ τὰ πτερά· οὕτω γὰρ γράφεται ἡ Νίκη· τινὲς δὲ ἐξηγοῦνται, Νίκης Ἀθηνᾶς εἶναι ἄγαλμα ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει. ταύτης δὲ τὰς πτέρυγας χρυσᾶς οὔσας ἐπεχείρησάν τινες ἀφελέσθαι. . . . This definition has usually been accepted. But we have seen that the word never occurs on the lists in the plural,¹²² and in fifth-century Greek it is scarcely possible to describe a pair of wings as a singular. Moreover, we have good evidence that the ἀκρωτήριον weighed no more than 300 drachmai, an impossibly small amount for two wings. We have noted that Nikai even in the earlier fifth century held the ἀκρωτήρια of ships in their hands. The scholiasts' definition must be due to a misunderstanding. How can we then explain Demosthenes' remarks? For he was writing at the time and probably himself saw the extent of the damage.

Taken on their surface value, the words offer no difficulty. The thieves broke off the most easily detached portions of the figure, namely, the ship's ornament in her hand. They, or other thieves, may also have broken off other ἀκρωτήρια or extremities—the tips of the wings being likely prey. The stories, or merely the term ἀκρωτήριον, became confused; very possibly the scholiast had no idea of the attributes of a Nike and interpreted ἀκρωτήρια as best he could. The confusion is obvious, almost inevitable; it accounts for the use of the singular on the extant inscriptions. Can it find any more support on the inscriptions themselves?

¹²¹ Svoronos, *loc. cit.*, p. 130; Ptolemy, *Almagest*, VIII, 1.

¹²² In *I.G.*, I², 368, lines 20-21, the phrase ἀ[κ]ρο[τέρια τέτταρ]α has been restored. There is, however, no reason for restoring τέτταρα rather than the more likely ἀκροτέριον.



Fig. 14. Panathenaic Amphora, 336 B.C.

(Swindler, *Ancient Painting*, fig. 347)

Professor Dinsmoor has noted that on every year following a political or administrative disturbance the record of the Parthenos was carefully checked.¹²³ Let us examine the Nikai records to see whether they reveal similar checking. In the year 385/4 B.C. the record for the Nike by ---atides (*J*) shows certain changes.¹²⁴ According to restorations proposed by Woodward, she has apparently gained in total weight the insignificant amount of two drachmai, but she has added to her possessions a *περιτραχηλίδιον* as well as *στολίδε δύο* without altering the weight of the second *ῥυμός*; Woodward also argues plausibly for the omission of the wreath.¹²⁵ All this was evidently due to the zeal of the newly reconstituted Board of Tamiai of the Goddess. The inscriptions for the year 371/0 (?), 369/8 (?), and 367/6, the first extant after the critical year of 376, give evidence for a net loss in the weight of Nike *J*. The inscription for 371/0 (Woodward, No. 12) shows a loss of 74 drachmai in the fourth *ῥυμός*; that for 367/6 (Woodward, No. 14) shows a loss of 62 drachmai in the second *ῥυμός*; and that for 369/8 (Woodward, No. 13) shows a gain of 32½ drachmai in the fifth *ῥυμός*. Woodward supposes that the decrease in weight "occurred between 385/4 and 374/3, without any of the component parts being removed, resulting in a net loss of over 100 drs. of gold."¹²⁶ As he points out, no item is missing. But a clever thief—and the Greeks were able thieves—never takes all of one object if he can do as well by taking a portion of several items. From the second *ῥυμός* he could pare or cut off bits of hanging drapery (*στολίδε*), from the fourth he could strip the crown of some of its leaves and cut the tips from the wings. We need not, however, assume that he, but rather the Board, was responsible for the restoration to the fifth *ῥυμός*. Very possibly the *ἀκρωτήριον*, easily detachable, was stolen, but it could be most easily restored, possibly from existing dedications, and might weigh slightly more than the original. If these seem fanciful hypotheses, we have only to look at the evidence provided by the last surviving inscription relating to this Nike, dated after 351/0 B.C., some four years later than the speech by Demosthenes. It is damaged,—and tantalizingly damaged. Woodward restores it (No. 16) with startling results. He finds that to fit the letters to the line, he has to omit the *περιτραχηλίδιον*. He finds that in three of the first four *ῥυμοί* deficiencies of weight are specifically recorded by the phrase *τούτοις ἐνδεῖ*, followed by the sum, even if it amounts to only a few obols. Here is a thorough checking and revision. Then, "for some reason," notes Woodward, "the fifth *ῥυμός* is omitted." The stone is left ominously blank. It is significant that this *ῥυμός* normally would have contained the *ἀκρωτήριον*, *ὀπίσθιον*, and *σκέλη*. We are driven to the conclusion that the

¹²³ *A.J.A.*, XXXVIII, 1934, p. 96.

¹²⁴ *I.G.*, II², 1407, lines 8-11; cf. Woodward, *H.S.C.P.*, Suppl. I, pp. 380 ff.

¹²⁵ *Loc. cit.*

¹²⁶ *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1937, p. 170, table and note 1. According to *Corpus* restorations in the places affected the net loss is 62¼ drachmai: *ibid.*, p. 166, No. 14.

ἀκρωτήριον was stolen. Probably large portions of the drapery at the back, the *χρυσίον ὀπίσθιον*, also disappeared. Let us trust that Nike was not left entirely legless, but if Woodward's restorations of the weights are even nearly correct, one entire third of the figure had vanished. Probably the remaining *membra disiecta* were regrouped in four *ῥυμοί* for convenience; the condition of the stone offers almost any opportunity to the ingenious restorer.

Whatever the gruesome details, one fact is clear, that somewhere between 384 and 351 B.C., projecting portions of the Nike *I* disappeared. The history of the other Nike (*M*) that existed in the fourth century, though not so fully preserved, yet follows the same course. Between 371 and 369 B.C., changes also took place in her list; the loss of weight amounts to about 24 drachmai. But, as with the preceding Nike, this loss was accompanied by the acquisition of more objects. A wreath is added: [σ]τέ[φα]νος ὃν [ἐν] τῇ χειρὶ ἔχει.¹²⁷ The figure seemed also to need further security against pilferers, for in the first and third *ῥυμοί* appear pins, *περόναι*, not previously noted.¹²⁸ In 367 B.C. the pins seem to have been dropped from the first and third *ῥυμοί*.¹²⁹ If, as Woodward suggests, the restoration of the weights is correct, the total weight has increased to within a drachma of the original amount. Of the inscription of 366 B.C., the last to mention this Nike, not enough survives to add any information.

That thefts, petty and grand, were not confined to the Nikai is clear from the later inscriptions dealing with the check-up in the treasury made under Lykourgos.¹³⁰ Here we read of the loss of the fingers from statues of boys or of tail-feathers from the figures of birds. Thus we may conclude that, following the ancient custom of *ἀκρωτηριάζειν* or cutting off the extremities of enemies, the gangsters of the straining days of the fourth century dared even clip the wings of Victory. The appearance of the Nikai, with their ostentatious akroteria, on the Panathenaic vases of 336-321 B.C. must surely reflect public appreciation of Lykourgos' restoration of the famous figures.

SUMMARY

After examining all this evidence, we should now be in a position to consider each Nike in detail and to sketch her individual history.¹³¹

In general the figures fall into three groups: those of the fifth century dedicated before 425 B.C., those dedicated after 425, and that one dedicated in the early fourth century. The appearance of the earlier group can only be surmised from the type popular at that period. They probably floated quietly forward in frontal pose, ex-

¹²⁷ *I.G.*, II², 1425, line 49.

¹²⁸ The restoration π[ερ]ό[ναι] in the first *ῥυμός* is not certain; see *loc. cit.*, lines 51 and 54.

¹²⁹ *I.G.*, II², *Addenda* 1428, lines 9-21.

¹³⁰ *I.G.*, II², 1498 ff.

¹³¹ As the references for each Nike are summarized on pp. 174 ff., they will not be repeated here.

tending an open wreath or fillet, or holding naval emblems in one or possibly both hands.

In the first group we have placed Nikai *A*, *B*, *C*. Since they are merely mentioned in the inscription of 434 B.C., it is impossible to tell whether they are among those that recur on other fragments. For purposes of argument we shall therefore consider the figures mentioned on later stones within the period of the inscription, since we do not know the date of dedication.

On an inscription from the Agora dating from *ca.* 430-425 B.C. an item is listed of which the total weight amounts to two talents (Nike *D*). Since the Nikai are usually grouped together at the head of the treasure-lists, the natural inference would be to suppose that the preceding object was a Nike. The phrase, *κεφάλαιον τούτων* for summing up the total weight is peculiar; the normal and more logical phrase was *κεφάλαιον ταύτης*.¹³² To restore the two surviving letters of line 2 in harmony with the other Nike inscriptions, the only possible solution appears to be:

[· *περόνα* *δύ*]ο *θ[όραξ καὶ ζώνιον σ]*
|ταθ|μὸν ΧΠΗΔΔΔΠΤΤ|||

It is strange to find the *θώραξ*, etc., listed at the end. The weight suggested, 1638 drachmai, 3 obols, is very light for these items, considering that the total weight was two talents. But since neither of these objections seems final, we must accept the probability that we have here another Nike (*D*). It is most probable that this Nike is either *A* or *B* of those finished in 434 B.C.

The same stone of about 430/25 B.C. gives us the earliest extant description of a Nike (*E*) that is in any way complete. The total weight is not given. By comparison of group weights, it can be said to be somewhat lighter, and presumably smaller than Nike *J*. The name of the sculptor, Deinokrates, is otherwise unknown, and we cannot even be sure that his work comes before us again. The items are grouped from bottom to top, except for the fact that if the legs and wings are to be included at the end of the inscription, they would have to follow the head and thereby upset the apparent logic of the grouping. It is not impossible, judging from the lightness of the given weights, that the figure was smaller and less ambitious than others, comprising only three *ρῦμοί*. In that case *πόδε* would cover both legs and feet, a Homeric usage. The figure would then have weighed about a talent and a half, or slightly less. That would imply a height of four Greek feet, assuming that the common practice of using round numbers holds.

In 426/5 B.C. Nikai *F* and *G* were dedicated. Of these we have the fragmentary description of the first, *F*. Although the condition of the stone has deterred editors from restorations, a good deal can be deduced from the narrow dimensions, which

¹³² Woodward, No. 4, lines 5 and 10; cf. *id.*, No. 3, lines 16-17.

indicate a line of 18 letters.¹³³ The heading gives the archonship of dedication and magistrates. However ingeniously one may fit in the items, or whatever the order, the fact remains that between the preamble and lines 28-29 is just room for one Nike. But the preamble specifies definitely by the dual that two figures are in question. So far as we know, Nikai were always grouped together on the lists. It follows, therefore, that the letters scattered so teasingly at the bottom of the stone must deal with a Nike. Line 28 cannot be made to fit any common preamble, but certainly suggests the restoration, ἀ]πὸ τ[οῦ δι]ερείσ[μα]τος, for which no parallel exists. It is difficult to resist the temptation of relating this phrase to the διερείσματα discussed above (p. 188), though just in what significance one would scarcely venture to guess. But to establish the direct relation between the Nikai of Athena and the διερείσματα of the Chalkotheke would add much to our understanding of the latter. However, we cannot continue now to yield to these temptations of restoration.

Woodward dates between 426/5 and 407 B.C. (probably *ca.* 410 B.C.) an inscription (*I.G.*, I², 369) that lists three, probably four Nikai. The last two had their own Board of Epistatai and may be considered as just dedicated. The first two may well have been dedicated earlier.

Of the first Nike that appears on this inscription, *H*, only the letters ἀκροτ]έρι[ον] (?) are preserved. The second, *I*, is known also from another inscription (*I.G.*, II², 1502) which gives identical descriptions of the same items. It seems to have been divided into four weighing-groups of approximately three thousand drachmai each, giving a total of one talent, 5987 drachmai, almost precisely that of Kallistratos' Nike. The order of these ῥυμοί is peculiar: the list begins with the legs and records the head in the middle,—the only certain instance of unsystematic weighing among all the inscriptions. We may not go far wrong when we infer from that fact that the Nike was among the oldest of her fellows.

The last Nike on *I.G.*, I², 369, *K*, is by the sculptor Timodemos. This was not a common name. It is interesting therefore to find TIMOΔΗΜΟ inscribed on a fine gem which Furtwängler attributes to the fifth century.¹³⁴ Since gem-cutting and metal-working were closely allied arts at that period, it is not impossible that the goldsmith made (or owned) the gem. We regret that Pliny does not mention goldsmiths but rather silversmiths,—for Timodemos, Deinokrates, and ———atides must have been three important artists of a distinguished field at the height of its flower.

Nike *K* was dismantled from the head downward. The ῥυμοί were on the average 3000 drachmai in weight, the total not being preserved. In her right hand she held an akroterion, probably the aphlaston; in her left stars, presumably fixed on the naval staff, the stylis. This occasion seems to be her only appearance.

¹³³ *I.G.*, I², 368.

¹³⁴ *Ant. Gem.*, III, p. 136.

One other Nike makes her début on *I.G.*, I², 369, Nike *J*, by the sculptor ---atides.¹³⁵ She is mentioned on twelve separate inscriptions. On the fifth-century inscriptions the phrase *Νίκε χρυσῇ ἡν --- ἀτίδες ἐπόεσεν* is used; on those dated in the fourth century *Νίκης χρυσῆς ---*. The inscription of 399/8 B.C.¹³⁶ is virtually complete and may be taken as the canonical form for the others. It indicates that the figure held a wreath in her right hand and an akroterion in her left. When a new Board was set up in 385/4 B.C., certain items change, but since the weight does not increase, we are driven to supposing that the change is in the description rather than in the Nike.¹³⁷ Between the years 385 and 371/0 B.C., presumably under Androtion's administration, slight readjustments were made in the figure itself. As well as a decrease of a little more than 100 drachmai in the total weight, *χρυσίδια μικρά*, or bits of gold, appear in increasing numbers as time goes on. We have been led to surmise that the statue had disintegrated or been deliberately broken. It was "disintegration" which formed the excuse for Androtion's melting down the crowns dedicated in the Parthenon. Demosthenes, sneering that gold crowns could not wither, *ὥσπερ ἴων ἢ ρόδων ὄντας, ἀλλ' οὐ χρυσίου*.¹³⁸ preferred to attribute these losses to deliberate plundering. We have seen, in our discussion of the akroterion, that this Nike may well have been the very one of which Demosthenes spoke in reporting the thefts from the Parthenon.

The largest Nike (*L*) weighed over 2 talents 200 drachmai. She is mentioned on only one inscription¹³⁹ and cannot be identified with any other Nike of which details are preserved. But no doubt she may equal one of those about which nothing is known. The items were listed from the head downward and show no peculiarities.

We find, then, that the number of Nikai mentioned in fifth-century inscriptions reaches a possible maximum total of twelve. But obviously we cannot recognize a Nike unless sufficient details of her appearance are preserved. For instance *A*, *B*, *C* must reappear and we may identify them for the sake of argument with the next available three Nikai of which we have descriptions. Nikai *F* and *G*, dedicated in 426/5 B.C., however, must be new, and *J* and *K*, presumably dedicated ca. 410 B.C., again are not to be identified with any preceding pieces. Nike *L*, which weighed over 2 talents, cannot in respect to our previous doubling up be identified with any other. We have, then, a probable minimum of eight Nikai extant before the crisis of 406/5 B.C. Noting that in three cases Nikai are dedicated in pairs, we might expect an even number. It is interesting that this number equals that which has been argued from the seven *διερείσματα* that survived in the fourth century.

¹³⁵ Note that the Agora inscription gives the fullest version of this name yet discovered. Hitherto it was restored --- χιδες.

¹³⁶ *I.G.*, II², 1388, lines 16-24.

¹³⁷ See above, pp. 204 f.

¹³⁸ *Timokrates*, 755.

¹³⁹ Woodward, No. 4, lines 2-5.

12 πρὸς τὴν Νίκην οἱ ἐπιστάται |
 προσαπέδουσα | ν παραλαβόντες παρὰ |
 τῶν προτέρων | ἐπιστατῶν .]
 15 . . | . ζ σταθμόν.¹⁴⁴

DOROTHY BURR THOMPSON

¹⁴⁴ Woodward, No. 17, from *J.G.*, II², 1421, lines 12-15; for the composition of the stele see Woodward, No. 11. Woodward (No. 17) considers it certain that this entry refers to Nike *M* (dedicated in 374/3) and points out that the "entry is not to be found in any later list."

GREEK INSCRIPTIONS

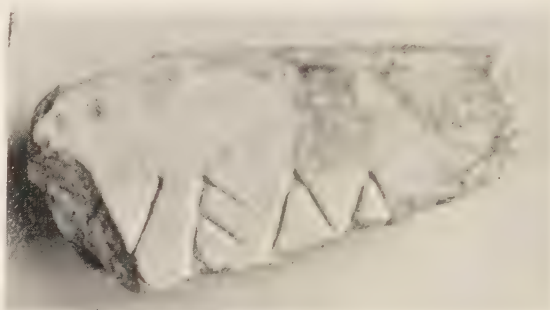
AN EARLY GRAVE MONUMENT

1. Two fragments of Pentelic marble. The smaller piece (*a*) was found in Section A on June 29, 1931. Its top surface meets the inscribed face in a beveled edge; the other sides are broken. The larger piece (*b*) was found in Section A on July 1, 1931. Part of the bottom surface is preserved.

a: Height, 0.048 m.; width, 0.095 m.;
thickness, 0.035 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.018 m.

Inv. No. I 44.

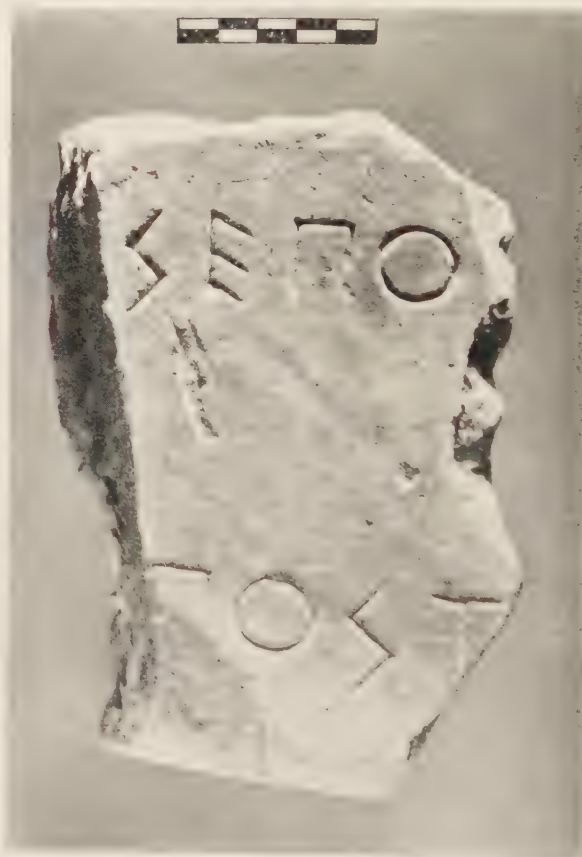


No. 1. Frag. *a*

b: Height, 0.16 m.; width, 0.115 m.;
thickness, 0.05 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.018 m.

Inv. No. I 47.



No. 1. Frag. *b*

Late Sixth Century B.C.

[---- μ]ν̂εμ|α ----]
[----]ς̂ ἐπο|ίεσε --]
[----]λι|πόστ|ρατος ----]

The monument may have been a funeral pillar with vertical inscription. This interpretation offers also a convenient explanation for the beveled edge on fragment *a*. It is not recorded whether the lower edge on fragment *b* was beveled.

APHYTIS AND POTEIDAIA

2. Two fragments of Pentelic marble, which join over a broad surface, and which are part of the inscription now published as *I.G.*, II², 55. The piece at the left was discovered in the wall of a modern house in Section Ψ on November 30, 1937; its left side and back are preserved. The piece at the right was discovered in the wall of a neighboring house in Section Ω on January 28, 1938; its original thickness is preserved, but its face is disfigured by the circular hole for a door-post.

Height, 0.33 m.; width, 0.26 m.; thickness, 0.095 m.

Height of letters, 0.007 m.

Inv. No. I 5147.

The lettering is Ionic, with a stoichedon pattern in which 5 lines measure 0.062 m. and 5 rows measure 0.041 m.

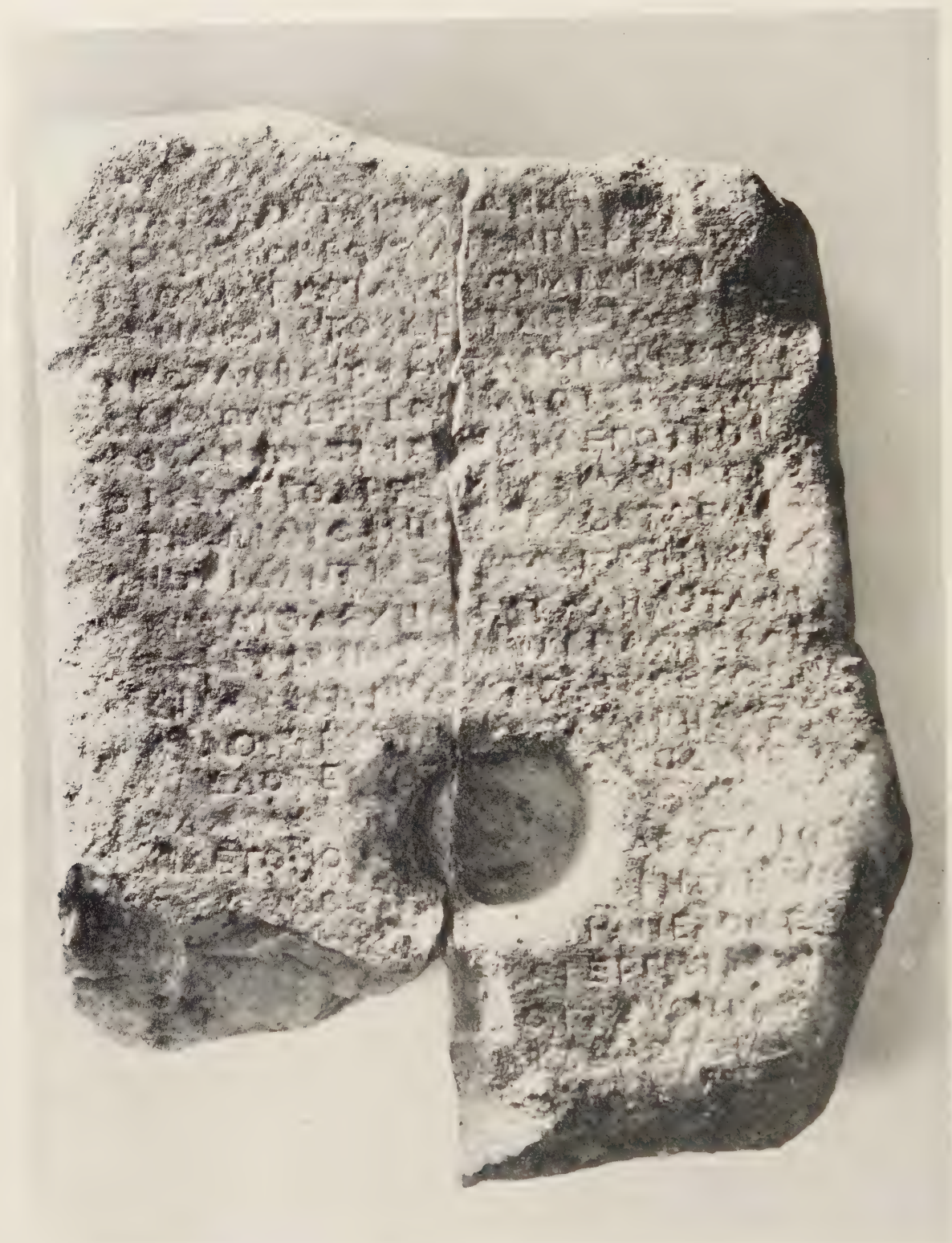
ca. 428/7 B.C.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 50

Ἀφυταίων

lacuna

- [. . .] ΘΑ[.] ΣΑ[. . . .] ! [-----]
 [. . .] ΝΤΑΤ[.] / [.] ὀκτακοσίων μ[εδίμωνν -----] νι[. π]
 [ό]λεμον τὸ κεφάλαιον· περὶ δὲ τ[.] εο[. . .] ι Ἀφυ[ταίος ἐπιμέ]
 5 [λ]εσθαι μέχρι μυρίων μεδίμωνν· ἡ δὲ τιμ[ὴ] ἔστω αὐτο[ῖς καθάπερ Μ]
 [ε]θωναίοις· τὸς δὲ ἄρχοντας σι[τοδοτό]ντων τὸς ἐν Ἀ[φυτι παρ' εἰαν]
 [τῶ]ν Θραμβάιοι κατὰ [τ]ὸ πλήθος· σ[υντελ]όντων δὲ καὶ α[ἱ ἄλλαι πόλ]
 [ε]ις καθάπερ Μεθωναίοις κατὰ τὸ [αὐτὸ]ν ψήφισμα· τὸν [δὲ ὄρκον ὃν]
 [ῶ]μοσαν Ἀφυταῖοι [ι τ]οῖς ἐποίκοι[ς] τ[οῖς] ἐμ Ποτειδαῖα [ι καὶ Ἀθηνα]
 10 [ί]οις καὶ τόδε τὸ [ψή]φισμα ἀναγράψ[ας ὁ] γραμματεὺς [ὁ τῆς βολῆς ἐ]
 [ν] στήλῃ λιθίνῃ [ι κ]α[τ]αθέτω ἐμ πό[λει τ]έλεσι το[ῖς τῶν ὀρκισθέν]
 [τ]ων· ὁ [τ]ι δ' αὖν τις τούτων τῶν ψηφισθ[έν]των τῶι δήμ[ω]ι περὶ Ἀφυταί[ο]
 [ος μὴ] πειθαρχῇ [ῆ] οἱ ἐλληνοταμί[αι ἡ] ἄλ[λη] τις ἀ[ρχὴ] ἐνεχέσθων τ[οῖς ἐν]
 [τῶι ψηφίσματι]· ἐπαινέσαι [δὲ Ἀφυ]ταίος ὅ[τι] ἄνδρες ἀγαθο[ὶ]
 15 [ί ἐ]σι [ν] καὶ νῦν καὶ ἐν τῶι πρόσθεν [χρόν]ω [ι περὶ Ἀ]θη[ν]αίος καὶ τὸ λ[ο]
 [οιπ]ὸν ὄντες τε [ἀγαθ]ο[ὶ] ἐ[ύ]ρῃσονται ὅτο ἄ[ν] δέω[νται] κατὰ τὸν νόμ[ον]
 [ον] ¹⁷ ἔδοξε [τῶι δήμ]ωι ἀποδιδόν[αι] Ἀφυταίος ἀπαρχὴν τῇ θεῶι
 [Π δ]ραχμάς ¹⁸ [vacat] vacat
 [τ]ὸνδε τὸν ὄρ[κον] ὁμόσαι Ἀφυταίος [τοῖς ἐμ Ποτειδαῖα]· εἰάν τις ἴ[θ]
 20 [ηι π]ολέμιος [ἐπὶ τὴν πό]λιν τὴν Ἀθη[ναίων] ἢ ἐπὶ τὸς ἐποίκος τὸς Ἀ[θη]
 [θναίων τ]ὸς Ποτείδ[αιαν] ἔχοντες, βοηθήσω Ἀθηναίοις κατὰ τὸ δ[ι]
 [ννατὸν καὶ λόγ]ωι κ[αὶ] ἔργωι [.] ¹⁹ Μ[-----]
 [.....]οι[. . .]ιον κατ[-----]
 [.....] οὔτε λόγ]ωι ο[ὔ]τε ἔργωι [-----]
 25 [.....] ²⁰ ε[-----]



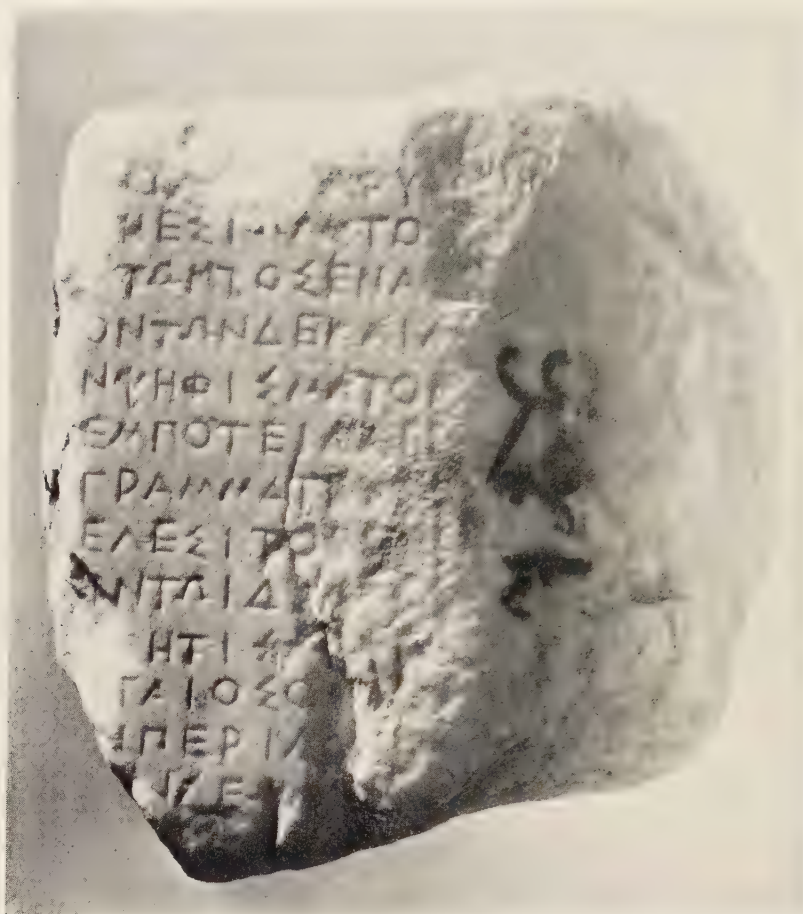
No. 2. Agora Fragments of *I.G.*, II², 55

This restoration, which incorporates *I.G.*, II², 55, shows that there must have been regularly fifty letter-spaces in each line after line 1. It is possible thus to determine approximately the original width of the stele, for five rows of letters measure 0.041 m. and fifty rows therefore would measure 0.41 m. This is considerably more than the width of *I.G.*, II², 55, fragment *a*, which was associated with fragment *b* by Wilhelm some thirty-five years ago.¹ Fragment *a* has a width of 0.33 m., and to judge from the photograph has the bottom preserved with a smoothly finished surface. If it belonged in fact with fragment *b*, as Wilhelm supposed, it was evidently not cut as part of the same stele but must somehow have been fastened to the top of the inscription. It is now impossible for me to examine the stone, but so far as the photograph published below shows, there is no evidence of a dowel on its under surface. It is probable in any case that a dowel was not used but rather that the sculptured slab was set into a socket on the top of the inscription. The photograph here published does not show the line of demarcation which indicates the depth to which the slab was inserted in this socket, but the line is distinctly visible in the photograph published by Hans Süsserott in his *Griechische Plastik des 4. Jahrhunderts vor Christus*, Plate II, No. 4.

Eugene Schweigert, who supplied the photograph of *I.G.*, II², 55 *a* here reproduced, believed that the sculptured slab was too thick to belong with the inscription. The epigraphical fragments are from a stele 0.095 m. thick; Wilhelm reported the thickness of fragment *a* as 0.105 m. The difference is not great and, even allowing for the frame of the socket, may have been absorbed by a moulding at the top of the inscription of which no trace remains. There was, for example, a projecting moulding between the inscribed surface and the sculptural adornment above *I.G.*, I², 65, which must be dated in 426 B.C.² This date is so close to the date of the present text that it is worthwhile to note that the width of the sculptured extension above the stele is less than the width of the inscribed surface below it. The general appearance is not unlike that which may be assumed for Wilhelm's combination of *I.G.*, II², 55 *a* with *I.G.*, II², 55 *b* and the new Agora fragments, as restored. The only significant difference would be that all of *I.G.*, I², 65 was cut as one single stele, whereas the sculptured fragment of *I.G.*, II², 55 was a separate superimposed block. A narrow sculptured relief above an inscription is also preserved in *I.G.*, I², 304 (410/09 B.C.), like *I.G.*, I², 65 part of the same stone with an inscribed text. Parts of the shoulders, from the reverse, may be seen in photographs in Meritt, *Athenian Financial Documents*, Plates VII and VIII, and the obverse, with the relief, is figured by W. Froehner, *Musée National*

¹ A. Wilhelm, *Anzeiger der k. Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien*, phil.-hist. Klasse, 1909, p. 58. It seems probable that *I.G.*, II², 55 *b* joins the new Agora fragments; I am not now able to make the test.

² Now published as D8 in Meritt, Wade-Gery, McGregor, *The Athenian Tribute Lists*, Vol. I, with photographs of the upper fragments on p. 123.

No. 2. *I.G.*, II², 55 *b*No. 2. *I.G.*, II², 55 *a*

du Louvre: Les Inscriptions Grecques, Plate facing p. 90. I follow Wilhelm in associating fragments *a* and *b* of *I.G.*, II², 55 and in printing Ἀφυταίων as the first line of the inscription.

The reverse face of the Agora fragments is worn quite smooth. It was thought at first that the stone might be opisthographic, but no traces of letters on the reverse have been found and I assume that only the obverse was inscribed.

A date for the inscription in the fifth century, earlier at least than 404 B.C., is proved by the mention of the Hellenotamiai in line 13. The document thus becomes one more in a growing number of texts once thought to belong in the fourth century which must be dated back into the fifth.³ Ionic lettering, which has been for many the first ready guide to dating, was universally employed in Attic decrees at least as early as 406 B.C., and when the expense of the inscription was borne by foreigners to whom Ionic script was natural, Ionic lettering was appropriate for an Athenian decree at any time in the fifth century.⁴ So this inscription, which was paid for by someone other than Athenians, at least, may be dated at any appropriate time before 404 B.C. that its internal evidence seems to justify.⁵ Here the significant fact is that the text records the oath sworn to by the Aphytaians *vis-a-vis* the Athenians and their colonists in Poteidaia.⁶ The siege of Poteidaia by the Athenians lasted from the late summer of 432 until the winter of 430/29 and then, after the capitulation, the Athenians sent colonists and established them there.⁷ Presumably the establishment of the colony was not delayed much after the surrender of the city,⁸ and it is reasonable to suppose that a *modus vivendi* with neighboring Aphytis was arrived at not much after the colonists were installed. The precise date for our present decree is here suggested as the autumn of 428 B.C., for reasons which will be set forth below.

In the early lines certain regulations are being made with obvious reference to agreements already reached between Athens and Methone. The phrase *καθάπερ Μεθωναίοις* may be read in its entirety in line 8, while the restoration [*καθάπερ Με*]θωναίοις seems reasonably certain in lines 5-6. The very first lines preserved are badly mutilated, but they indicate concern with the importation of grain: ὀκτακοσίων μ[εδύμνων] in line 3 and μέχρι μυρίων μεδύμνω[ν] in line 5. The first recoverable

³ See, for example, Eleanor Weston, "New Datings for some Attic Honorary Decrees," *A.J.P.*, LXI, 1940, pp. 345-357.

⁴ See Ferguson, *Treasurers of Athena*, pp. 175-178.

⁵ The restoration in lines 11-12, [τ]έλεσι το[ῖς τῶν ὀρκισθέντ]ων, is uncertain. The requirements of space would be satisfied with the reading [τ]έλεσι το[ῖς τῶν Ποτειδεατ]ῶν, but it is difficult to understand why the Poteidaians should pay for a stele which so obviously is of primary concern to Aphytis and, epigraphically, the use of τῶν with Ποτειδεατ]ῶν is not stylistically correct. Cf. e.g., *I.G.*, I², 39, lines 60-61: τέλεσι τοῖς Χαλκιδέον.

⁶ Lines 19 ff. Cf. also lines 8-10.

⁷ Thucydides, II, 70, 4: — — — καὶ ὕστερον ἐποίκους ἔπεμψαν ἑαυτῶν ἐς τὴν Ποτείδαιαν καὶ κατόικισαν.

⁸ *I.G.*, I², 397 preserves the dedication on the Athenian acropolis: ἐποίησαν ἐς Ποτείδαιαν. Cf. Tod, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, no. 60.

sentence seems to say that the Aphytaians shall make provision for _____ to the extent of ten thousand bushels. I have found no satisfactory supplement for the missing part of line 4. But the change from infinitive to imperative construction in line 5 indicates the beginning of a new sentence after *μεδίμνω[ν]*, where the restrictions of space lend considerable plausibility to the restoration which defines the price: [*ἡ δὲ τιμ*] *ἡ ἔστω αὐτοῖς καθάπερ Μεθωναίοις*.

At least as early as the winter of 430/29 Methone enjoyed special privileges within the framework of the Athenian empire. The first decree of *I.G.*, I², 57⁹ granted exemption from tribute payments except for the quota to Athena, and in the tribute-quota lists of 430/29 and 429/8 the name *Μεθωναῖοι* was recorded in a special rubric of cities that paid the quota only.¹⁰ The stele which carries the text of *I.G.*, I², 57 contained at least four decrees concerning Methone. Their unifying theme was the question of liability to payment of tribute,¹¹ but the question of freedom of trade was brought up and confirmed both in 430/29 and in 426 B.C. In the former year the Athenians sent word to Perdikkas, king of Macedonia, that they thought it just to allow the Methonaians to sail the sea and to import as of old;¹² in the latter year they guaranteed the Methonaians the privilege of regular yearly imports of grain from Byzantion.¹³ It is evident that during the early years of the Peloponnesian war Methone was being used by the Athenians as a center of Athenian influence on the southern boundary of Macedonia west of the Thermaic gulf¹⁴ and that the Methonaians were successful in exacting favors in return for their co-operation. The Athenians also agreed that no general decree concerning the empire should be binding on Methone unless it mentioned that city specifically by name.¹⁵

Poteidaia, of course, became a center of Athenian strength when it was established as a colony, probably in 429, but the present text shows that the Athenians made Aphytis also a focal point in their administration of the empire,¹⁶ and that they modelled their accommodations to Aphytis on the pattern of those previously made

⁹ Published as D3 in Meritt, Wade-Gery, McGregor, *The Athenian Tribute Lists*, Vol. I, pp. 162-163. Cf. Meritt, *Athenian Financial Documents*, pp. 22-25.

¹⁰ See Meritt, Wade-Gery, McGregor, *op. cit.*, p. 338, and Lists 25 and 26, respectively, on pp. 149 and 150. The name and rubric are both restored in List 25; the text of List 26 reads as follows: *ἡαῖδε τῶν πόλεων αὐτῶν* [*ν*] *τὴν ἀπαρ* [*ρ*] *χρὲν ἀπέγαγον* --- *ΗΗΗ Μ* [*ε*] *θωναῖοι*. Haison and Dikaia, on the western and eastern sides of the Thermaic gulf respectively, were also granted remission of tribute except for the *ἀπαρχή*.

¹¹ See commentary in Meritt, Wade-Gery, McGregor, *op. cit.*, p. 212.

¹² *I.G.*, I², 57, lines 20-21: *καὶ ἂν εἰσμπορεύεσθαι καθάπερ* [*ρ*] *τέος*.

¹³ *I.G.*, I², 57, lines 34-36: *Μ* [*ε*] *θωναῖοις* [*εἰν*] [*αι*] *ἐχ* [*σα*] [*γο*] *γέν* *ἐγ* *Βυζαντίο* *σίτο* *μέχ* [*ρι*] . . . *ακισχ* [*ιλίον*] *μεδίμνον* *τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ ἐκάστο* ---.

¹⁴ For the location of Methone, see Meritt, Wade-Gery, McGregor, *op. cit.*, p. 519, and p. 489 (*s. v.* *Ἡράκλειον*).

¹⁵ *I.G.*, I², 57, lines 41-47. See also lines 13-16.

¹⁶ Earlier, Aphytis had served as a military base. Thucydides (I, 64, 2) says of Phormio in 432 B.C.: *ἐξ Ἀφύτιος ὁρμώμενος*.

to Methone. She received the privilege of importing a specified amount of grain at a price equal to that paid by Methone. We learn further that there were ἄρχοντες in Aphytis, that the Thrambaioi to the south helped to supply them, and that generally contributions were made by the other cities just as they were made to Methone. This implies that there were ἄρχοντες also in Methone, and that there had been passed certain general imperial regulations about how they were to be maintained. Without knowing more details, we may at least be confident that reference is here made to the type of regulation that was embodied in the κοινὰ ψηφίσματα περὶ τῶν συμμάχων from which the Methonians had been granted exemption, and one example of which is preserved in *I.G.*, I², 65.¹⁷ It seems improbable that "the other cities" (if the suggested restoration in lines 7-8 is correct) should lie very far afield. Methone, on the western side of the gulf, and Aphytis, near the isthmus of Pallene, may have drawn their supplementary support from the cities that lay near the gulf, on Pallene, and in those parts of Bottike and Chalkidike that had been recovered by the Athenians. The contribution to Aphytis was the same as that to Methone, for it was sanctioned according to the terms of the same decree (κατὰ τὸ | αὐτὸ | ν ψηφίσμα in line 8).¹⁸ The Thrambaioi, however, were given their proportionate share in the support of the ἄρχοντες at Aphytis according to their population. The reading of the stone seems clear: κατὰ [τ]ὸ πλῆθος.¹⁹ This provision is so specific and it so obviously singles out the Thrambaioi for special treatment that one may conclude (*a*) that the Aphytians had raised special question of what help they would have from Therambos and (*b*) that Therambos was not one of the cities already obligated to Methone.²⁰ That groups of cities in the Thraceward area were subject to a common imperial regimentation, even before the time of this decree, is shown by the reference to ξυγγραφαί in the well-known Brea inscription.²¹ But the present text gives some indication that whatever provisions of general applicability there may have been there were also from time to time general regulations for more restricted areas centering around individual Athenian administrative outposts. We know that Methone was one such center; we now know also that Aphytis was another and that its status was patterned somewhat on that of Methone.

¹⁷ For the text see D8 in Meritt, Wade-Gery, McGregor, *op. cit.*, pp. 166-167, and corrections in the last three lines by A. E. Raubitschek, *A.J.P.*, LXI, 1940, pp. 475-479.

¹⁸ For the use αὐτόν as the neuter form see Meisterhans-Schwyzler, *Grammatik der attischen Inschriften*³, p. 155, § 10.

¹⁹ Exactly what this proportion was we do not know. Some indication is given by the fact that from 435 to 429 B.C. the tribute of Aphytis was 3 talents, while that of Therambos was normally one-sixth of a talent.

²⁰ Otherwise it would have been included in the next paragraph. The location of Therambos can be fixed with some probability near the very tip of Pallene. Thus it was the most remote from Methone of all the cities of the peninsula. See Meritt, Wade-Gery, McGregor, *op. cit.*, p. 491 and p. 464 (*s. v.* Αἰγάντιοι).

²¹ *I.G.*, I², 45, lines 14-17: βοεθῆν τὰς πόλεις | ἵος ὀχσύν | τατα κατὰ τὰς χονγγραφὰς | ἡαῖ ἐπὶ πρὸ]το γραμματεῖοντος ἐγένον]το περὶ τῶν πόλε | ον τῶν ἐπὶ Θράκας.

Another decree concerning Aphytis in the early years of the Peloponnesian war has been in part preserved as *I.G.*, I², 58. Hiller gave to it a date *ca.* 428 B.C., which in my judgment is perhaps a year or two early.²² The restoration of the name Σ[κόπας] as author of the amendment beginning in line 9 is too uncertain to have any probative value. Skopas was secretary when the first decree for Methone was passed in 430/29. We know nothing of him in 428 or in 426/5, and the question-mark which Wilhelm placed after the name in his edition of 1909 might well be retained, or perhaps it would be better, for lack of evidence, to write merely Σ[---] as the name of the orator.

Our present text specifies regulations—which are embodied in a decree—for the importation of grain into Aphytis. In *I.G.*, I², 58, lines 14-17, the stipulation is made that those who wish may carry grain “according to the decrees voted by the Demos.” It seems appropriate to consider our document one of these earlier decrees, and so to date *I.G.*, I², 58 later than 428 B.C. If one wished to emphasize the similarity with the second Methone decree, as suggested by Wilhelm, a date near 426 B.C. would be quite in order. Reference to the earlier decrees appears in *I.G.*, I², 58, as restored by Wilhelm, as follows: [τὸς δὲ βολομένος α|ὑτὸν ἄγεν καὶ σίτον κ|ατὰ τὰ φσεφίσματα τὰ ἐφσε]φισμένα τοῖ δέμοι κ|αὶ τοῖς χσνμμάχοις τελῶντ]ας τὰ τέλε ἡὰ ἂν φσε[φίsetai ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων]. Wilhelm (*loc. cit.*, p. 58) translates “unter Beobachtung der Beschlüsse des athenischen Volkes und der Bundesgenossen” and adds the comment “wenn meine Ergänzung --- richtig ist.” It is almost certain that the restoration κ|αὶ τοῖς χσνμμάχοις] should be changed. The decrees by which Athens regulated the affairs of her empire at the time of the Peloponnesian war were Athenian decrees and in no sense decrees of Athens and her allies. The words τοῖς χσνμμάχοις are to be deleted, and in their place I suggest a verb, perhaps ἐσεμπορεύεσθαι (which appears in *I.G.*, I², 57, line 20), which denotes an action in connection with which the payment of imposts would be normal procedure. To supply τῷ θαλάττει χρῆσθαι (cf. also *I.G.*, I², 57, line 19) would probably give too long a line. If the Aphytaians and the Methonaians had substantially the same privileges in the importation of grain during this period, there were probably no imposts to pay, within the prescribed limits, on grain alone.²³

The archons in Aphytis are mentioned in line 6. Such boards existed throughout the empire, sometimes composed of Athenians, sometimes of local magistrates. In recent years evidence about them has become more abundant. The monetary decree

²² The restorations depend almost entirely on Wilhelm, *Anz. Ak. Wien*, 1909, pp. 57-58, who suggested first a late date, near the end of the Fifth Century, because Patrokleides who made the principal motion was to be identified with the Patrokleides who proposed a decree in 405/4 (Andocides, I, 77-79), and then an earlier date, because the subject-matter seemed much like the decree of Kleonymos for Methone of 426/5 (*I.G.*, I², 57, lines 32-56).

²³ Cf. *I.G.*, I², 57, lines 40-41: ἀξέμιος [δὲ ἔσ]το καὶ ἐ ναῦς ἐ ἐχπάγοσα.

of *ca.* 449 B.C. has been especially helpful, particularly through the new fragment discovered on Kos, and has aided materially in the interpretation of other references.²⁴ Archons in the cities of the empire are named also in the new fragments of a decree concerning tribute, published above on pp. 4-7, which should be dated in 448/7 B.C.²⁵ In the present text there is nothing new added to our knowledge of their duties; it is not even stated whether they were Athenian or local, though they were probably Athenian; but there is new evidence about the maintenance of the boards and the collective responsibility of neighboring allies for supporting them. It is this consideration that weighs in favor of thinking the board at Aphytis one of those made up of Athenians, and hence by analogy (κατὰ τὸ | αὐτὸ | ν ψήφισμα, line 8) in favor of thinking that the board at Methone also was composed of Athenian commissioners.²⁶

In the paragraph which introduced the ἄρχοντες in Aphytis the verb must be in large part supplied (lines 6-7): τὸς δὲ ἄρχοντας σι[τοδοτό]ντων τὸς ἐν Ἀ[φντι παρ' ἐαυτῶ]ν Θραμβαῖοι κατὰ τ[ὸ] πλῆθος. There is, however, no question about the extent of the lacuna or the identity of the initial letter, so the possibilities for restoration are not unlimited. I have at times thought that the second letter of the verb might be upsilon, and, if so, that the restoration might be σν[ντρεφό]ντων or perhaps σν[νεσ-τιώ]ντων. But the meaning seems less subject to doubt than the precise word to be supplied. I have favored σι[τοδοτό]ντων partly because it is a word known from Thucydides²⁷ and partly because it makes a natural transition from the discussion of σῆτος in the preceding paragraphs. I have no alternative to suggest for σ[υν-τελ]όντων in line 7. The word πόλεις, so spelled rather than πόλεις, needs no explanation in this text with its Ionic script.²⁸

The restorations from line 8 to line 17 may, I believe, be regarded as reasonably certain, except for the supplement [τῶν ὀρκισθέντ]ων to define who was to pay for the stele. I consider this to be probable only.²⁹

The colonists at Poteidaia are named in line 9 as [τ]οῖς ἐποίκοι[ς] τ[οῖς] ἐμ Ποτειδαία[ι] and in lines 20-21 as [τὸς ἐπόικος τὸς Ἀθηναίων τ]ὸ[ς] Ποτείδ[αιαν] ἔχοντ[ας]. It would be possible epigraphically to assume that the oath was taken by the Aphytaians τῆς-ἅ-τῆς them and their allies, restoring [συμμάχ]οις instead of [Ἀθηναί]οις in lines 9-10. But the fact that the Aphytaians swore to protect Athens as well as Poteidaia (lines 20-21) argues in favor of [Ἀθηναί]οις in the earlier

²⁴ Pertinent texts available in 1939 are listed in Meritt, Wade-Gery, McGregor, *The Athenian Tribute Lists*, Vol. I, p. 595, *s.v.* ἄρχων. The reference to A9, 13 belongs to Athens, but the others belong to the cities of the empire.

²⁵ Lines 5-11: [τὲ]μ βολὴν καὶ τὸς ἄρχ[οντας ἐν] τῇσι πόλεσι καὶ τὸς [ἐπισκό]πος ἐπιμέλῃσθαι ἡόπ[ος] ἂν χρ[υ]λλέγεται ἡ οὐ φόρος κ[ατὰ τὸ ἔ]τος ἡέκαστον καὶ ἀπά[γεται] Ἀθῆναις.

²⁶ For Athenian and non-Athenian boards, see above, p. 10.

²⁷ Thucydides, IV, 39, 2: περὶ εἴκοσιν ἡμέρας ——— ἐσιτοδοτοῦντο, τὰς δὲ ἄλλας ——— λάθρα διετρήφοντο.

²⁸ E. g., *I.G.*, II², 43, line 78: Ἀθηναίων πόλεις αἶδε σύμμαχοι.

²⁹ See note 5, above.

passage. They did not swear to protect the "allies of the colonists," and indeed Athens would hardly have recognized such a definition except by implication as allies of her own.

In line 17 a new paragraph begins with the formula $\epsilon\delta\omicron\zeta\epsilon\nu$ [$\tau\omega\iota$ $\delta\eta\mu\omega\iota$]. The letter-space immediately preceding $\epsilon\delta\omicron\zeta\epsilon\nu$ [$\tau\omega\iota$ $\delta\eta\mu\omega\iota$] was uninscribed. This seems certain from the squeezes as well as from the photograph. In fact it is highly probable that there were two uninscribed letter-spaces before $\epsilon\delta\omicron\zeta\epsilon\nu$ [$\tau\omega\iota$ $\delta\eta\mu\omega\iota$], but I should hesitate to claim both of them as certain and therefore exclude for the end of line 16 and the beginning of line 17 some such restoration as $\kappa\alpha\tau\grave{\alpha}$ $\tau\grave{o}$ $\delta\upsilon\nu\alpha\tau\acute{o}\nu$ in place of $\kappa\alpha\tau\grave{\alpha}$ $\tau\acute{o}\nu$ $\nu\acute{o}\mu\omicron\nu$. In spite of the fact that the surface of the stone is no longer preserved at the very beginning of line 17, one may say with confidence that the first space was almost certainly inscribed and that in all probability the second space was likewise inscribed. If the sentence that began in line 14 came to an end in line 16, then the new paragraph that commences with $\epsilon\delta\omicron\zeta\epsilon\nu$ [$\tau\omega\iota$ $\delta\eta\mu\omega\iota$] would undoubtedly have commenced at the left margin of the stone in line 17 just as the paragraph which records the oath began at the left margin of the stone in line 19. The fact that the formula of resolution $\epsilon\delta\omicron\zeta\epsilon\nu$ [$\tau\omega\iota$ $\delta\eta\mu\omega\iota$] began in the fifth letter-space from the left margin shows that some of the sentence of lines 14-16 extended over into the first space or two of line 17. This overrunning necessitated leaving the fourth space (and possibly the third) uninscribed in order to mark the new paragraph.

The sentence which begins with $\epsilon\delta\omicron\zeta\epsilon\nu$ [$\tau\omega\iota$ $\delta\eta\mu\omega\iota$] in line 17 was very brief. Apparently it extended only as far as the word [δ] $\rho\alpha\chi\mu\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ in line 18, after which the stone was again uninscribed for the remainder of the line. This was not any part of the decree, the provisions of which were recorded above. It is rather one of those rare but very welcome records of accomplished action. Finding the record of the action here, one can state with assurance that in the early part of the decree proper there was provision made for the demos at its meeting to act on some proposition which was being referred to it from the council. Attention has already been called to the close similarity between this inscription and the so-called Methone decree of 430/29 B.C. In that decree there is evidence that the Methonaians had asked to be excused from the payment of tribute as assessed against them except for the quota to the goddess. In the probouleumatic form in which the decree was drafted, the council agreed to entertain the Methonaian request and submit the matter for vote to the demos. The provision, in lines 5-9 of the decree, reads as follows:³⁰ $\delta\iota|a|$ - $\chi\epsilon\iota\rho\omicron\tau\omicron\nu\epsilon\sigma\alpha\iota$ $\tau\acute{o}\nu$ $\delta\epsilon\mu\omicron\nu$ $\alpha\nu\tau\acute{\iota}\kappa|a$ $\pi\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$ $M|$ $\epsilon\theta\omicron\nu\alpha\acute{\iota}\omicron\varsigma$ $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\tau\epsilon$ $\phi\acute{o}\rho\omicron\nu$ $\delta\omicron\kappa\epsilon\acute{\iota}$ $\tau\acute{\alpha}\tau\tau\epsilon\nu$ $\tau\acute{o}\nu$ $\delta\epsilon\mu\omicron|$ ν $\alpha\nu\tau\acute{\iota}\kappa|a$ $\mu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha$ $\epsilon\acute{\iota}$ $\epsilon\chi|$ $\sigma|$ $\alpha\rho\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ $\alpha\nu\tau\acute{o}\iota\varsigma$ $\tau\epsilon\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ $\iota\acute{\iota}\omicron\sigma\omicron\nu$ $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\iota$ $\theta\epsilon|$ $\omicron\iota$ $\alpha\pi\acute{o}$ $\tau|$ \acute{o} $\phi\acute{o}\rho\omicron$ $\epsilon\gamma\acute{\gamma}\iota\gamma\epsilon\tau\omicron$ $\iota\delta\acute{o}\nu$ $\tau\omicron\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ $\pi\rho\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\iota\varsigma$ $\Pi\alpha\nu|$ $a\theta|$ $\epsilon|\nu\alpha\acute{\iota}\omicron\iota\varsigma|$ $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}\chi\alpha\tau\omicron$ $\phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\epsilon\nu$, $\tau\acute{o}$ $\delta\grave{\epsilon}$ $\alpha\lambda\lambda\omicron$ $\alpha\tau\epsilon\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$ $\epsilon\acute{\nu}\alpha|$ ι . Actually, the demos granted the request of the Methonaians. This fact was recorded as a

³⁰ See the text published as D3, Meritt, Wade-Gery, McGregor, *The Athenian Tribute Lists*, Vol. I, p. 162.

historical appendix at the end of the decree (lines 29-32): ἐχειροτόνεσεν ἡ δῆμος [Μεθοναίω]ς τελεῖν ἡ[όσο]ν τῷ θεῷ ἀπὸ τοῦ φόρου ἐγίγνε[το] ἡδὸν τοῖς προτέρο[ις] Παναθηναίοις ἐτετάχατο φ[έρειν, τῷ δὲ ἄ]λλο ἅτε[λῆς ἐ]ναί. Other examples might be cited but the similarity between our present document and the Methone decree, which is so much like it in other respects, makes the comparison here suggested unusually pertinent. The Aphytaians had asked a favor. There must have been a provision in the decree stating that the demos was to vote on it; and what we have is a record of that vote. There is too little preserved, even of the brief sentence of the record, to determine without restoration what its contents were. The Methonaians, in 430/29, had asked and received remission of tribute except for the quota to Athena. It is a natural assumption that some years later the Aphytaians had asked for remission of their tribute except for the quota to Athena. Indeed, what few indications there are point to this interpretation of the clause. By inference from the two preserved words ἀποδιδόν[αι] and [δ]ραχμάς, one gathers that the Aphytaians had asked whether they were or were not to make regular payments of a certain sum of money. The use of the present tense in ἀποδιδόν[αι] is significant for it indicates a continuing or a repeated transaction like the yearly payment of tribute. A single payment for some unique purpose should have been described by the aorist infinitive ἀποδοῦναι. This consideration probably rules out any restoration which would suggest payment of traveling expenses to the ambassadors who had come from Aphytis or refunds of money to them for expenses incurred. On the other hand, if the payment could be measured in drachmai, obviously it would not represent the full normal tribute of Aphytis which is known from the Athenian tribute lists to have been 3 talents both in 430/29 and in 429/8.³¹ A payment in drachmai might well represent the quota to the goddess, though the regular payments of the full tribute in 430/29 and 429/8 show that the privilege of paying the quota only cannot have been granted before 428/7.

Because this decree shows that the Athenians were ready to give to Aphytis any privilege within the law for which she asked (lines 15-17), because of the similarity of this decree with the Methone decree, because Methone had asked for and received relief from the full payment of tribute, and because Aphytis had apparently asked and by this decree been given a consideration which had to do with a small sum of money in regular payments, it is our conclusion that lines 17-18 record the fact that the Athenians at some time after 428 B.C. permitted Aphytis, as well as Methone, to pay only the quota to the goddess. The precise wording of the passage I suggest as: ἔδοξε [τῷ δήμῳ] ἀποδιδόν[αι] Ἀφυτῆος ἀπαρχὴν τῇ θεῷ [δ]ραχμάς *vacat*.

For the phrase ἀποδιδόν[αι] Ἀφυτῆος ἀπαρχὴν τῇ θεῷ reference may now be made to the prescripts of the quota lists for 421/0, 418/7, and 416/5.³² For example,

³¹ Cf. Meritt, Wade-Gery, McGregor, *op. cit.*, p. 242.

³² See Meritt, *A.J.P.*, LXII, 1941, pp. 1-15.

List 37 of the year 418/7 has in the last line of its prescript: [πόλες h]αῖδε [ἀπέδοσαν] |ἀπα|ρχήν τῷ θεῷ μνᾶ|ν ἀπ|ὸ τῷ ταλάντ[ο]; List 34 of 421/0 has: |ἡαῖδε πόλες ἀπέδοσα|ν τὸν ἀπαρχὲν τῷ θεῷ μνᾶν ἀπὸ τῷ ταλάν[το]; and List 39 of 416/5 reads: |πόλες ἡαῖδε ἀπέδοσαν ἀπαρχὲν τῷ θεῷ μνᾶν ἀπὸ| τῷ ταλ[άντο]. The verb ἀποδιδόναι is well attested not only for the payment of tribute but also for the payment of the quota and in two of the examples cited here ἀπαρχήν τῷ θεῷ appears without the article just as we have supplied it in the restoration of line 17.

This restoration leaves one space at the beginning of line 18 for the numeral indicating how many drachmai made up the quota to Athena. It might, of course, be possible to make some supplement like αὐτὴν τὴν ἀπαρχήν instead of ἀπαρχήν τῷ θεῷ in lines 17-18, thus leaving no space at the beginning of line 18 for a numeral. One would have to assume in this case that the numeral was cut after an uninscribed space farther along in line 18. Merely as a matter of disposition this arrangement is unsatisfactory, particularly since there may have been at least two uninscribed spaces after |δ|ραχμάς. The hole for the hinge of the door which later mutilated the face of the inscription prevents us from saying categorically that all of line 18 was uninscribed after the ninth letter-space. It would be better, stylistically and as a matter of arrangement, to supply the numeral in the one space available at the beginning of the line. Inasmuch as the quota of Aphytis had been 300 drachmai in the years immediately preceding this decree, the appropriate numeral for the restoration is probably Π, the symbol for 500 drachmai. The epigraphical desirability of this restoration has historical implications that are not without interest. One must suppose that the tribute of Aphytis has been raised from 3 to 5 talents in the proposed schedule made ready by the assessors in the autumn of 428 B.C. This is a reasonable assumption because 428/7 is otherwise known to have been a year of tribute assessment and undoubtedly the scale of payment demanded by the assessors was generally higher than that of 430/29.³³ On being informed of the new assessment, the Aphytaians evidently sent an embassy to Athens to ask for the same special privilege enjoyed by Methone and two other neighboring cities of paying not the assessed tribute but the quota only. These were the Aphytaians who agreed to the regulation of their affairs as recorded in the present inscription and who swore the oath which

³³ See Meritt, *Athenian Financial Documents*, p. 20; Accame, *Riv. di Fil.*, XIII, 1935, p. 397. An alternative solution is to assume that the tribute of Aphytis was reduced in 428 from three talents to one, and so restore the numeral at the beginning of line 18 as H. This could be explained as the result of possible inroads by the colonists at Poteidaia on the territory of Aphytis, and one might note as a parallel case that the tribute of Argilos was much reduced, for example, after the founding of Amphipolis in 437. Furthermore, the tribute of Aphytis in the third and fourth assessment periods had been not three talents, but one. But the colonization at Poteidaia did not establish a new city, as was the fact at Amphipolis, and the Athenians need not have caused any constriction of the existing sphere of Aphytaian control. It seems best to lay the greater weight on the known necessity for higher assessments in the early years of the war and to restore the amount of the quota as Π.

was added at the end of the decree. Undoubtedly there was an appendix, now lost, giving the names of the ambassadors and beginning with some such phrase as: Ἀφυταίων οἶδε ὄμνον τὸν ὄρκον. These circumstances serve to define more precisely the date of the entire inscription as late summer or early autumn of 428 B.C.

One may return here briefly to a consideration of fragment *a*, with its sculptured decoration. Inasmuch as the text below records the oath sworn by the Aphytaians, it is possible to interpret the figure of a woman holding a libation-cup in her right hand as the pictorial record of its consummation.

The libation was a usual part of the formal ceremony of giving and taking oaths,³⁴ so the connection between figured relief and written document gives added support to Wilhelm's attribution of text and sculpture to the same monument. The libation-cup looks like a shallow saucer, and if one may judge from the knob in its center it was probably a *φιάλη μεσόμφαλος*, appropriate for the purpose here suggested.³⁵ The female figure may represent the patron goddess of Aphytis, just as the patron deities of Athens and Samos, for example, were represented in the relief of Athena and Hera which surmounted the covenant between these two cities in 403/2 (*I.G.*, II², 1).³⁶

For the history of low-relief sculpture in Athens the precise date of 428 B.C. is now won for a monument which has usually been dated *ca.* 387/6. There have been various degrees of certainty and uncertainty about the attribution of this sculpture to the Fourth Century. One of the more categorical arguments for the later date has been developed by Süsserott, who speaks of a new movement and rhythm in the first decade of the Fourth Century and then proceeds to the discussion of our present relief in these terms:³⁷

Den gleichen neuen Rhythmus weist die Figur des Reliefs über der kurz vor 387/86 datierten Urkunde der Aphytaier auf. In der Mitte der stark fragmentierten Tafel steht eine etwa zu zwei Dritteln ihrer Höhe erhaltene weibliche Figur, gekleidet in Chiton und Mantel, in der gesenkten Rechten eine Omphalosschale haltend. Die Arbeit ist mässig und ohne eigentliche Modellierung nur in ganz flacher Erhebung über die Relieffläche durchgeführt: Züge die den geringwertigen Handwerker erkennen lassen. Jedoch das wenige Sichtbare der wirklichen Formgebung erlaubt eine klare Feststellung der Bewegung des Körpers. Die Figur steht frontal. Das Standbein ist fast senkrecht aufgestellt. Vom Fuss des im Knie etwas gelockerten Spielbeines führt eine Falte schräg aufwärts zur Standbeinhüfte. Die eine gelockerte Seite des Körpers steht also mit der angespannten, tragenden in unmittelbarer Verbindung. Damit ist das Entscheidende des Rhythmus des Jahrzehntes 390/80 gekennzeichnet: das Spielbein wirkt nicht mehr auf das Gleichgewicht des Körpers, indem es die Haltung des Körpers strafft, sondern wird gelöst. Die Spielbeinhüfte sinkt herab, wie dies die schrägen, sich an der linken Seite des Beckens bildenden Falten des Mantels beweisen. Die Standbeinhüfte wölbt sich heraus und das Rückgrat biegt sich demgemäss seitlich durch.

Der Unterschied dieser Bewegtheit des Körpers von der im vorangegangenen Jahrzehnt fest-

³⁴ See Busolt-Swoboda, *Gr. Staatskunde*, II³, pp. 1252 ff.

³⁵ Cf. Richter and Milne, *Shapes and Names of Athenian Vases* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1935), p. 29.

³⁶ A good photograph is given in Kirchner, *Imagines*, Pl. 19.

³⁷ H. K. Süsserott, *Griechische Plastik des 4. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt, 1938), pp. 42-43.

gestellten ist rein äusserlich abzulesen. In Jahrzehnt 400/390 stehen sich eine tragende und eine gespannte Seite des Körpers gegensätzlich gegenüber. Nirgends führt eine Falte von Spielbeinfluss zur Standbeinhüfte hinüber, sondern die von diesem aufwärts gehenden Falten leiten bezeichnenderweise in die gerade oder bogenartig gespannte Mittelachse ein.

The futility of this type of argument about the date of an Athenian relief, with its spurious assurance of exactitude, is apparent from the fact that the relief belongs forty years earlier than the date which Süsserott proposes.

Miss Binneboessel, though she puts the relief shortly before 387/6 in her list of dated monuments (no. 28),³⁸ says of it and of its date in the Fourth Century: ³⁹ "Der Stil des Stückes zeigt so wenig Eigenart, dass er diese Datierung weder fordert, noch ihr widerspricht." It would have been better to abide by her decision. The best evidence for the date of the sculpture lies in the inscription which it adorned.⁴⁰

Another piece of relief which carries an epigraphical text has fared even worse at the hands of the experts on sculpture and mention of it may appropriately be made here. The monument was seen by William Gell in Athens, and a transcription of the epigraphical text which it carries was sent by him to H. J. Rose at Cambridge, who forwarded it to Boeckh for publication in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Gracarum* in 1828.⁴¹ Boeckh thought that the relief belonged to a sepulchral monument, but Kirchhoff, in his publication in 1891, records the just observation of Michaelis that it is, in fact, best interpreted as part of an ornament of an Athenian decree.⁴² The text of the inscription now appears in Hiller's publication of 1924 as *I.G.*, I², 37. Kirchhoff's comment on the forms of the letter sigma noted that the use of a three-bar sigma in line 1, side by side with four-bar sigmas in line 2, argues a date "ad tempora Ol. 81-83." There can be no doubt that this judgment is correct. Kirchhoff was unwilling to define the time more exactly, indicating a possible date between 456 and 448. Hiller gives a date "ante a. 446/5." Certainly this is the lowest limit permitted by the three-bar sigma in a public monument of this kind. Attempts to date the inscription later have been based upon the style of the sculpture, a much more subjective consideration, and have had to ignore or explain away the epigraphical evidence.⁴³ Von Scala publishes the text in his collection of treaties and associates it with the relations between Athens and the Messenians at Naupaktos after the settlement which is referred to by

³⁸ Rosemarie Binneboessel, *Studien zu den attischen Urkundenreliefs des 5. und 4. Jahrhunderts* (1932), p. 8.

³⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 50.

⁴⁰ Miss Binneboessel, *op. cit.*, p. 50, followed the old, and erroneous, assumption that "die Schrift weist noch in die Zeit vor 387/6."

⁴¹ *C.I.G.*, I, 873: "Ex schedis Guil. Gellii a Rosio missis."

⁴² *C.I.A.*, IV, 22 g, (*I.G.*, I, Suppl., 22 g).

⁴³ On the basis of Gell's copy Boeckh represented an angular rho in line 3. This might be taken as evidence for an early date near the middle of the century except for the fact that the rho was rounded, not angular, and of a form that might have appeared normally at any date after ca. 452 B.C. See the photograph on p. 228.

Thucydides (I, 103).⁴⁴ The date is given by von Scala as 459 B.C., as suggested by Wilamowitz,⁴⁵ who believed that the name of the archon Philokles should be restored in line 1 of the inscription. Von Scala notes that there are difficulties in the way of restoring an archon's name, but these difficulties have not been universally appreciated. Hermine Speier, for example, who urges a later date for the inscription, wishes to restore the name of the archon Stratokles of 425/4.⁴⁶

The name of the archon would be out of place in the conspicuous position offered by the moulding above the relief of this monument. Here one expects the name of the secretary and Kirchhoff's restoration [----]οκλῆς Φι[----] ἐγραμμάτευε is far better than any other as yet suggested. We may retain Μεσσέ[νε] for the restoration of line 2 and reject von Scala's suggested πρ[έσβες] in line 3. Even though we agree that this inscription is part of a treaty between Athens and the Messenians at Naupaktos, it would be extraordinary to find the names of the ambassadors inscribed in the background of the relief, and there is no evidence to support von Scala's conjecture.

A late date for *I.G.*, I², 37 has been argued also by Miss Rosemarie Binneboessel who puts the monument "um 410/9."⁴⁷ Miss Binneboessel's argument is in some respects so extraordinary that it should be categorically refuted. She notes that the epigraphical evidence points to the date earlier than 446, though she misinterprets Hiller by saying that 446 was his date for it. Hiller's comment was merely to the effect that the inscription was earlier than 446/5, quite a different statement altogether. But Miss Binneboessel realizes the force of the argument for an early date which lies in the three-bar sigma. She believes, however, that the three-bar sigma is not so large as the other letters in line 1 and she disposes of it in this fashion:

Da aber das dreistrichige Sigma in der Grösse nicht zu den übrigen Buchstaben passt, scheint es ursprünglich doch vierstrichig gewesen zu sein. Man kennt mehrere Fälle, wo die Buchstaben einer Inschrift mit Farbe vorgemalt, aber vom Steinschreiber aus Nachlässigkeit nicht vollends ausgeisselet waren. Der Reliefstil weist ausserdem in jüngere Zeit.

⁴⁴ R. von Scala, *Die Staatsverträge des Altertums* (Leipzig, 1898), p. 38, no. 53.

⁴⁵ *Aristoteles und Athen*, II, p. 296.

⁴⁶ *Röm. Mitt.*, LVII, 1932, p. 24 (with a photograph on Plate VI). Miss Speier seems not to value highly evidence of an epigraphical nature. With reference to the name Messene, she writes: "Da für diese Beischrift das vierstrichige Sigma, in der Inschrift des oberen Profils OKΛΕΣΦΙ das dreistrichige verwendet ist, wurde das Relief allein aus epigraphischen Gründen (die sich auch sonst als trügerisch erwiesen haben) in die Mitte des fünften Jahrhunderts datiert. . . ." For the deceptive nature of epigraphical evidence, she refers to Frickenhaus, *Tiryns*, Vol. I, p. 109, which has nothing to do with the present case, and she also claims that the Xenokrateia Relief in the National Museum in Athens shows both forms of the sigma. This simply is not true. A photograph of the inscription is published in *Αρχ. Έφ.*, 1911, p. 79. Anyone who wishes may see for himself that all the sigmas have four bars as, indeed, one would expect for the date to which it must be assigned.

⁴⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 6, no. 17; the argument for the date is developed on pp. 40-42.

Anybody who can treat evidence in this cavalier manner can prove anything. Her arguments for a late date⁴⁸ are concerned principally with matters of proportion, posture, style of drapery, and so forth, but these are all arguments of an extremely subjective nature about which even the experts disagree. The objective external evidence points to a date *ca.* 450, forty years earlier than the extraordinary attribution of Miss Binneboessel. This relief has been discussed by Percy Gardner⁴⁹ whose practised eye finds nothing incongruous about the date suggested by the inscription. He writes of the relief as follows:

It is unfortunately fragmentary; all that remains is part of a somewhat archaic female figure standing to the right with arms outstretched, on her head a lofty crown or polos. The date, as indicated by a few letters of the inscription which remain, is the middle of the fifth century B.C. We should naturally have supposed the lady to be a deity, probably Demeter, but for the inscription which is inserted beside her for the express purpose of preventing this mistake, and which consists of the letters MEΞΞ[. Michaelis can scarcely be wrong in supposing that she is in fact an allegorical impersonation of the city of the Messenians, with whom the Athenians had, about the middle of the fifth century, close relations. This impersonation is the more remarkable because after 454 B.C. the Messenians were wanderers, and their city in the power of Sparta. So it is the people rather than the city who is embodied in the lady of the relief. Her likeness to Demeter may arise from the fact that Demeter was, as we know from Messenian coins, regarded as the representative deity of the race.

There is perhaps something more that can be said about this relief. After Gell had made his epigraphical copy in Athens, the stone was taken to Holland and there, as sculpture, published by Janssen in his volume on the Greek and Roman reliefs in the Leiden museum. But Janssen did not believe that it belonged to a funeral monument, as Boeckh had thought; he believed that it belonged to a dedication. A plaster cast and a photograph were sent to Germany, where in 1875 Adolf Michaelis published the monument in the *Archäologische Zeitung*, pp. 104-106.⁵⁰ In commenting on the inscription and the style of the sculpture Michaelis remarked that a date *ca.* 455 B.C. would be well suited both by the style of the lettering and the posture of the figure of Messene in the relief. I have nothing to add to Michaelis' epigraphical argument, which is just as conclusive today as it was in 1875. But he published also a lithographed print to illustrate the sculpture of the relief, and he admits that his first impression from the figure alone was to prefer a later date, perhaps *ca.* 427 B.C. One can understand this preference when he studies Michaelis' drawing. This has so much in it in the way of interpretation of posture, of feature, and of drapery, that it can only by courtesy be said to represent the original from which (via plaster cast

⁴⁸ The size of the sigma in point of fact is perfectly normal, as Miss Binneboessel could have determined by reference to contemporary documents. A close parallel for the general appearance is the heading of the covenant with Miletos, *I.G.*, I², 22, which must be dated in 450/49, and of which Oliver publishes a photograph in *T.A.P.A.*, LXVI, 1935, Plate 1, facing p. 198.

⁴⁹ *New Chapters in Greek Art* (Oxford, 1926), pp. 235-236.

⁵⁰ The title-page bears the date 1876.

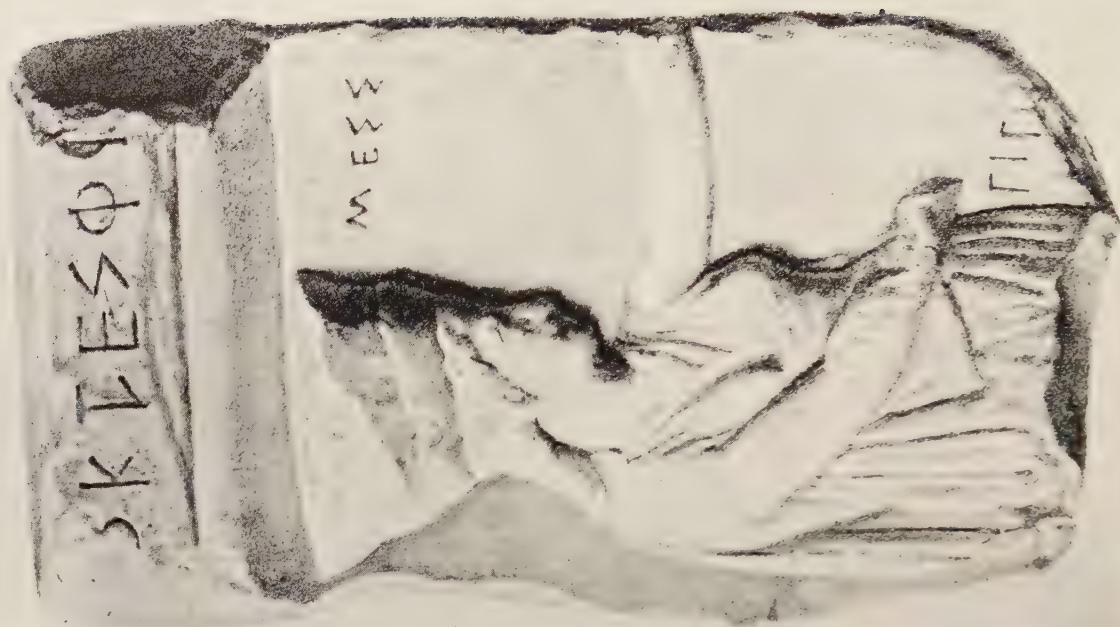
and photograph) it was made. Copies of Michaelis' lithographic print and of Miss Speier's photograph are presented here in the illustrations on p. 228 for the sake of comparison. One wonders how much futile speculation about the late date of this relief has been caused by too much reliance on the drawing in the *Archäologische Zeitung*.

But many problems remain. One does not know, and perhaps may never know, what the figure of the relief was doing with her hands. It is difficult to understand the meaning of the third line of the inscription which was cut beneath the right hand. Everyone who has commented on the figure seems to think that she was standing, but I believe that she was seated. I should hesitate to venture my own opinion on a matter which involves, among other things, a precise knowledge of foreshortening and of folds of drapery if I did not have the assurance of others who have studied the relief that they too (not all of them, but many) are convinced that Messene is a seated figure. One must here pay no attention to Michaelis' drawing, where the drapery is unintelligible. The right arm seems to be resting on her lap, and the left arm perhaps holds erect a spear. Some have suggested that with the outstretched left hand Messene is in the act of bestowing a crown, but crowns were usually given with the right hand, not the left.

The polos upon the head of Messene has of course been noticed. Years ago Percy Gardner⁵¹ described types of representation of city-states in Greek sculpture and stressed the development of the type which identifies the state with Good Fortune. This was the Tyche type which in Hellenistic times came to be represented conventionally with a walled crown, a cornucopia, and a patera. The figure in our relief does not wear a mural crown nor does she carry a cornucopia, but she may indeed have had a patera in her right hand. With the name Messene attributed to her, she was also, apparently, a representation—or rather a personification—of the country of Messene.

Moreover, the headgear of Messene corresponds with that which Pausanias describes on the head of an archaic statue of Tyche in the ancient city of Pherae in Messenia. Pausanias (IV, 30, 6) mentions the Temple of Fortune with its ancient image. He goes on to say that Homer is the first he knows ever to have mentioned Fortune but he says that Homer gave none of her attributes. Rather it was the architect and sculptor Boupalos who first represented her, as the Fortune of Smyrna, with the polos on her head and the cornucopia in one hand. Even though the cornucopia is absent from the relief it may be that the sculptor who wished to carve a personification of Messene gave to her the polos because (by implication at least from Pausanias' story) the statue of Tyche in Messenia probably wore this headdress. We may indeed in our present relief have a connecting link between the first known statue of the Fortune of a city made by Boupalos in the sixth century and the better-known

⁵¹ *J.H.S.*, IX, 1888, pp. 47-81.



The Michaelis Drawing of *I.G.*, I², 37



I.G., I², 37

examples of the Hellenistic Age of which the Fortune of Antioch was an outstanding specimen.

If this interpretation is correct, it would seem to confirm also the opinion of those who hold that the Messene of the relief was a seated figure. But whether seated or not, since we find here a figure which is thought by some to be the personification of the people of Messene in a context which seems to be dated about a quarter of a century earlier than the Aphytaian decree, it may be suggested that the figure of the woman who adorned the Aphytis text in 428 represents not merely an Aphytaian deity but the city or people of Aphytis itself, perhaps personified as the Aphytaian Tyche.

CITIZENSHIP FOR ARISTOMENES

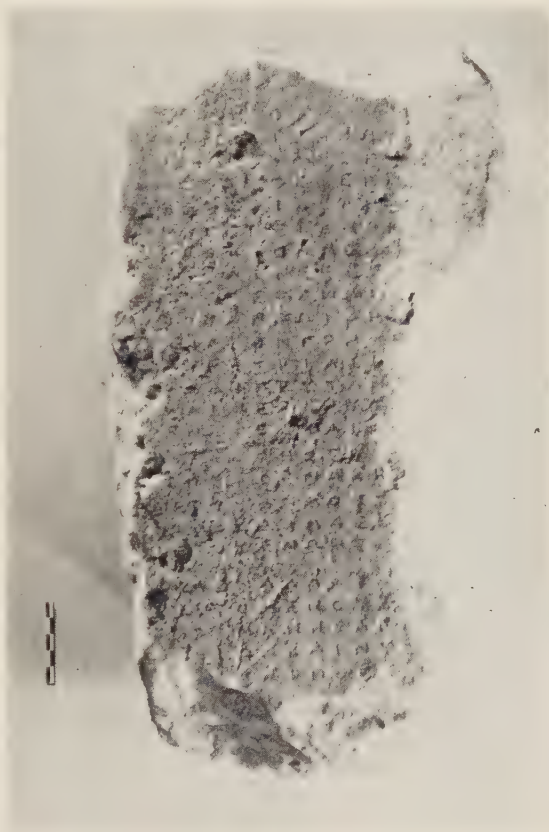
3. Fragment of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides but with the original thickness apparently preserved, found on September 12, 1938, in the wall of a modern house in Section BB.⁵²

Height, 0.421 m.; width, 0.22 m.; thickness, 0.139 m.

Height of letters, 0.006 m.

Inv. No. I 5560.

The inscription is written stoichedon, with a square checker pattern in which five rows and five columns measure 0.059 m.



No. 3.

⁵² The surface is badly worn, especially at the left. Valuable help with the readings has been given by Albert Billheimer.

357/6 B.C.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 32

- [Ἐπὶ Ἀγαθοκλέους ἄρχοντ]ος *vacat*
 [ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ]ι δῆμω[ι ἐπὶ τῆς]
 [.....¹⁵.....]ης [πρυ]τανεί[ας ἡι Διό]
 [δοτος Διοκλέους Ἀ]ν[γελῇ]θεν ἐγρ[αμμάτε]
 5 [υεν·¹⁵..... Ἀφ]ιδνα[ῖος ἐπεστ]
 [άτει·⁹..... εἶπεν·] ἐπειδὴ Ἀρ[ιστομέ]
 [νης ὁ ...⁷..... τὸν δῆμον τ]ὸν Ἀθη[ναίων εὖ]
 [ποεῖ ὁ τι ἂν δύνηται, ἐπ]αινέσαι [αὐτὸν κα]
 [ὶ στεφανῶσαι χρυσῶι σ]τεφάνωι [ἀπὸ : Π : δρ]
 10 [αχμῶν καὶ ἀνειπεῖν] ὅταν τῷ δῆ[μωι δοκῇ]
 [ι· εἶναι δὲ αὐτὸν Ἀθη]ναίων· γράψ[ασθαι δὲ]
 [φυλῆς καὶ δῆμον καὶ φ]ρατρίας ἡ[ς ἂν βούλ]
 [ηται καὶ τὴν ψῆφον] τοὺς πρυτάν[εις οἱ ἂν]
 [πρυτανεύωσιν δοῦ]ναι περὶ αὐτ[οῦ ἐν τῇ]
 15 [πρώτῃ ἐκκλησίαι·] ἀναγράψαι [δὲ τὸ ψήφι]
 [σμα τόδε τὸν γραμματέα] τῆς βο[υλῆς ἐν στ]
 [ήλῃ λιθίνῃ καὶ σ]τήσαι ἐν ἀκρ[οπόλει· δ]
 [οῦναι δὲ τὸν ταμία]ν τοῦ δῆμον τ[ῷ γραμμ]
 [ατεῖ τῆς βουλῆς : ΔΔΔ :] δραχμὰς ἐ[κ τῶν κατ]
 20 [ὰ ψηφίσματα ἀναλίσκ]ομένων τ[ῷ δῆμωι "]
vacat
 [...⁹..... εἶπεν· τὰ] μὲν ἄλλα κα[θάπερ τῇ]
 [ι βουλῇ, περὶ δὲ Ἀρι]στομένους [δεδόχθα]
 [ι τῷ δῆμωι· ἐπειδὴ] ἐστι ἀνὴρ ἀγα[θὸς περ]
 [ὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθη]ναίων καὶ νῦ[ν καὶ ἐν τ]
 25 [ῷ ἔμπροσθεν χρόνῳ] καὶ ποε[ῖ ὁ τι δύνα]
 [ται ἀγαθὸν -----]

This decree embodies the usual formal provisions for a grant of Athenian citizenship. The date is fixed with great probability by the names of archon and secretary which are to be restored in lines 1 and 3-4.⁵³ The nationality of Aristomenes, who is being honored, presumably was given by an ethnic in line 7. The strengthening of relations between Athens and Andros in 357/6 (cf. *I.G.*, II², 123) tempts one to suggest ὁ Ἀνδριος for the supplement, but this would be quite conjectural.

The formulae are well known. In lines 17-19 the payment of money for the stele by the treasurer of the demos to the secretary of the council may be illustrated also in a text of 361/0 (*I.G.*, II², 117, lines 16-19): [εἰς δ]ὲ τὴν ἀναγ[ρα]φ[ὴν τῆς στήλης δόναι τ]ὸν ταμίαν τ[ὸ] δ[ῆμο] δραχμὰς τῷ [γραμματεῖ τῆς βουλῆς]; in line 25 the unusual form ἔμπροσθεν seems to be required by the stoichedon order, but the

⁵³ See, e. g., *I.G.*, II², 121-123 and *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 12-17.

phrase is well attested; it is assumed in the case of both numerals (lines 9 and 19) that one letter-space was taken up by punctuation before and after the figures.

A CHOREGIC MONUMENT

4. Fragment of Pentelic marble, with part of the upper surface preserved, but broken at the back, at the bottom, and at both sides, found in a cistern in Section A on August 1, 1931.

Height, 0.11 m.;
width, 0.305 m.;
thickness, 0.11 m.

Height of letters,
0.03 m.

Inv. No. I 87.

ca. 325-300 B.C.

|----- ἐ|χορή|γει|



No. 4.

The text evidently belongs to a choregic dedication, being similar to those already published as *I.G.*, II², 3027 ff. The size of letters and their spacing resemble, for example, those in line 1 of *I.G.*, II², 3086/7.

A DECREE OF DEMEAS

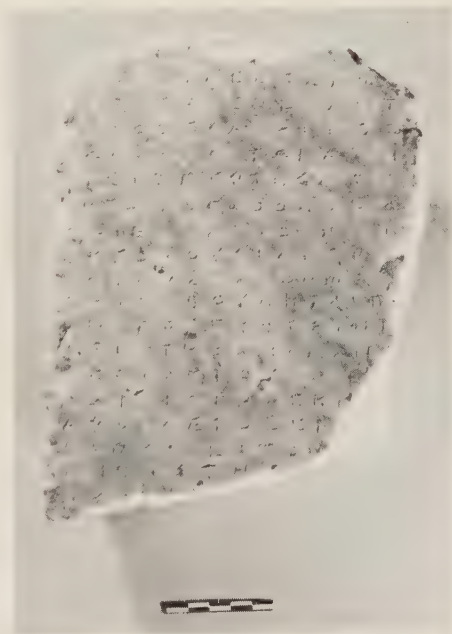
5. Fragment of Hymettian marble, found on May 12, 1939, in Section II. The left side and back are preserved.

Height, 0.225 m.; width, 0.165 m.; thickness, 0.057 m.

Height of letters, 0.005 m.-0.006 m.

Inv. No. I 5828.

The lettering is stoichedon, with irregularities, five lines measuring ca. 0.05 m. and five rows measuring from 0.05 m. to 0.055 m.



No. 5.

Shortly before 321/0 B.C.

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

- [--- τῶν προέδρων ἐπειρήφιζεν ---] 24
 [....]ος Θ[ορ]αιε[ύς· ἔδοξεν τῶι δ]
 [ή]μωι· Δημέας Δημ[άδου Παιανιε]
 [ύ]ς εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ Τ[.....⁹..... Μ]
 5 [ό]σχον Πλαταιεύς [εὖνους ἐστὶ]
 τῶι δῆμωι τῶι Ἀθη[ναίων καὶ πρ]
 ἀτ<τ>ει ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλ[εως ὅ τι ἂν δύ]
 [ν]ηται ἀγαθόν, δεδ[όχθαι τῶι δῆ]
 μωι εἶναι Ἀθηναί[ον αὐτὸν καὶ]
 10 ἐκγόνους καὶ γρ[άψασθαι αὐτὸν]
 ν φυλῆς καὶ δήμου [καὶ φρατρία]
 ς ἧς ἂν βούληται π[λὴν ὧν οἱ νόμοι]
 ἀπαγορεύουσιν· τ[οὺς δὲ πρυτά]
 νεις τῆς Ἀκαμαντ[ίδος δοῦναι]
 15 [π]ερὶ αὐτοῦ τὴν ψ[ήφον ἐν τῶι δῆ]
 μωι εἰς τὴν ἐκκ[λησίαν· ἀναγρ] 23
 άφαι δὲ τόδε τ[ὸ ψήφισμα τὸν γ]
 ραμματέα τὸν [κατὰ πρυτανεί]
 αν ἐν στή[λῃ λιθίνῃ καὶ στ] 22
 20 ἦσα[ι ἐν ἀκροπόλει -----]

This text is of interest as being the only decree so far known of the orator Demeas, son of the notorious Demades, both of whom were killed by Kassandros in 319 B.C. The fact that the decree was inscribed by the prytany-secretary shows that it belongs earlier in date than the oligarchy of 321/0-319 8 B.C., when the task of inscribing decrees was performed by the registrar. The date was probably not much before 321 because Demeas could hardly have been of age to propose a motion until the latter part of the 320's. It was reported of him that he had been introduced as a boy by his father to Philip II after the battle of Chaironeia.⁵⁴ Kirchner (*P.A.*, 3322) estimated the date of his birth *ca.* 355 B.C., so he may not have been thirty years of age before 325 B.C. The lettering of the present text has some resemblance to that of *I.G.*, II², 343 or 418, particularly in its disposition and the apparent care—or lack of care—with which the cutting was done. The hands are not the same, but they may well belong in the same general period. The formula *π[λὴν ὧν οἱ νόμοι] ἀπαγορεύουσιν* also appears, though largely restored, in *I.G.*, II², 385, a document of approximately this date.⁵⁵ It is within this formula that one of the disturbances in

⁵⁴ See Blass, *Attische Beredsamkeit*, III², 2, p. 267, and note.

⁵⁵ [--- ἧς ἂν βούληται]ι [πλὴν ὧν οἱ]ι [ν]όμοι ἀπαγορεύουσιν]. The formula recurs in *I.G.*, II², 804: [--- ἧς ἂν] βούληται π[λὴν ὧν οἱ νόμοι ἀπαγορεύουσιν], a document of the mid third century B.C.

the stoichedon order occurs, but the beginning of the irregularity is visible on the stone in the initial pi of $\pi[\lambda\eta\nu]$. The number of letters per line was reduced to 23 in line 16 and to 22 in line 19.

The style of Demeas as orator was mocked by Lucian in a passage of the *Timon* in which he represented Demeas as quoting a resolution of praise which he was prepared forthwith to introduce on the misanthrope's behalf. In comic mimicry of the official jargon of decrees the motivation for the honors that were to be heaped upon Timon was developed at some length:⁵⁶ ἐπειδὴ Τίμων Ἐχεκρατίδου Κολλυτεύς, ἀνὴρ οὐ μόνον καλὸς ἀγαθός, ἀλλὰ καὶ σοφὸς ὥς οὐκ ἄλλος ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι, παρὰ πάντα χρόνον διατελεῖ τὰ ἄριστα πράττων τῇ πόλει, νενίκηκε δὲ πύξ καὶ πάλην καὶ δρόμον ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ μιᾶς ἡμέρας καὶ τελείῳ ἄρματι καὶ συνωρίδι πωλικῇ — — — καὶ ἡρίστευσε δὲ⁵⁷ ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως πέρυσσι πρὸς Ἀχαρναῖς καὶ κατέκοψε Πελοποννησίων δύο μόρας — — — ἔτι δὲ καὶ ψηφίσματα γράφων καὶ συμβουλευόντων καὶ στρατηγῶν οὐ μικρὰ ὠφέλησε τὴν πόλιν — — —. When Timon interrupted the recital to point out that the alleged record did not correspond with the facts and to make a modest protest, Demeas assured him that it was best to have a lot of this sort of thing in the preamble. One gets the impression, even in the jest, that Demeas was fulsome and wordy, with a style at once turgid and demagogic. The contrast with the actual words of Demeas as preserved in the present decree is striking. Nothing could be further removed from the prolix verbosity imputed to him by Lucian than the simple motivation with which he introduced the motion for citizenship for his friend from Plataea (lines 4-8): ἐπειδὴ Τ[...⁹... Μό]σχου Πλαταιεύς [εὖνους ἐστὶ] τῶι δήμῳ τῶι Ἀθη[ναίων καὶ πρ]άτ<τ>ει ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλ[εως ὃ τι ἂν δύν]ηται ἀγαθόν. The phraseology is stereotyped and almost telegraphic in its brevity. It gives little clue to what Demeas may have been like in forensic debate, but it indicates a degree of conservatism and business-like efficiency in the handling of routine affairs.

T — — —, son of Moschos, of Plataea may have been an ancestor of Μόσχος Ἀπολλωνίου Πλαταιεύς who was an ephebos at Athens in the latter half of the first century B.C. (*I.G.*, II², 1043, line 124). The difference in time is almost three hundred years, so too much insistence on the possible connection would be hazardous indeed.

The precise date of *I.G.*, II², 385*b* is not known, for fragment *b* has been shown by Dinsmoor not to belong with fragment *a*, which names the registrar of 321/0 B.C. See Dinsmoor, *Archons*, pp. 24-25.

⁵⁶ Lucian, *Timon*, 50-51.

⁵⁷ The Loeb edition (and others as well) gives the text of the decree here as καὶ ἡρίστευσε δέ. Although the use of καὶ δέ (cf. J. D. Denniston, *The Greek Particles*, pp. 200-203) is found in inscriptions as well as in literary Greek, one may question whether καί may not be taken here to belong to the explanatory remarks made to Timon by Demeas and not to the decree. The Greek text, in this case, might be punctuated as follows: Τί οὖν; θεωρήσεις ὕστερον τὰ τοιαῦτα δὲ πολλὰ προσκείσθαι ἄμεινον καὶ "ἡρίστευσε δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως — — —," to be translated: What of it? You will be a delegate, later. It is best to put in plenty of that sort of thing. And to continue—"fought bravely also for the city — — —."

A DECREE OF DEMADES

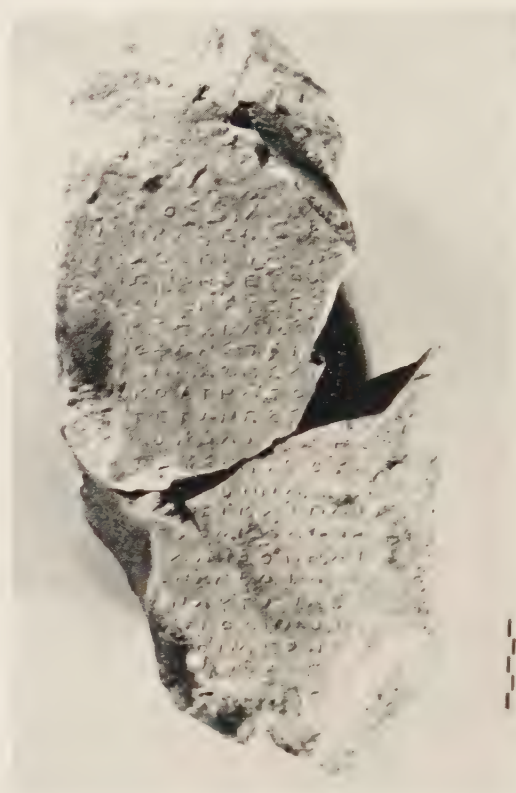
6. Two joining fragments of Hymettian marble, found in the wall of a modern house in Section EE on October 14, 1938. Part of the smooth right side of the lower piece and the rough-picked back of both pieces are preserved. The moulding at the top of the inscribed face has been chipped away.

Combined height, 0.40 m.; width, 0.195 m.; thickness, 0.075 m.

Height of letters, 0.006 m.

Inv. No. I 5626.

The letters of lines 2 ff. have a stoichedon pattern which is almost square, five lines or five columns averaging about 0.058 m. The letters in line 1 are more widely spaced.



No. 6

320/19 B.C.

	Νικόστρατος ---- λωνος Φιλ ιππεύς?	
	ἐπὶ Νεαίχμου ἄρχοντος ἀναγραφέω ς δὲ Ἀρχεδί	ΣΤΟΙΧ. 37
	κου τοῦ Ναυκρίτου Λαμπ τρέως ἐπὶ τῇ ς Οἰνείδος	
	ἕκτης πρυτανείας ἡι νων Ὀῆθ ἐγραμ μάτευ	
5	εν· Γαμηλιῶνος δεκάτη ις ταμένου τετ ἀρτηι "	
	καὶ εἰκοστῇ τῆς πρυτανεί ας· ἐκκλησί α κυρία·	
	τῶν προέδρων ἐπειρήφιζεν Ἰ οφῶν Στει ρ καὶ συμ	
	πρόεδροι· ἔδοξεν τῷ δήμῳ· Δημάδης Δη μέου "	
	Παιανιεύς εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ Νι κόστρατο ς	
10	----- τε τῶν ἐς Σ 	
	----- Ἀθηναίων μη 	
	----- τοὺς ἐπιβουλ 	

year of Neaichmos, where the phrase *Ἀναγραφεὺς Ἀρχέδικος Ναυκρίτου Λαμπτρέως* begins the preamble,⁶³ but such irregularity is demonstrable in other years where a registrar is named and need not occasion surprise here.⁶⁴ There are, however, two other types of formula which the preserved remains allow, and these must here be studied.

I. THE PREAMBLE WITH *ἄρχων Νέαιχμος*

One might write in lines 2-3 [*ἄρχων Νέαιχμος· ἐπὶ*] *ἀναγραφέω*[*ς Ἀρχεδίκου | τοῦ Ναυκρίτου Λαμπ*] *τρέως*, etc., thus determining a stoichedon line of 35 letters. This method of naming the archon has been shown to be not unduly rare in the early third century, and one of the decrees naming a registrar in 294/3 has been restored in accordance with it.⁶⁵ So the formula may be considered possible also in 320/19. The name of the tribe in prytany must have been Oineis, for the secretary (line 4) has the abbreviated demotic *᾽Οῦθ(εν)*, and Oa was a deme of Oineis. During the period of the oligarchy from 321 to 318 the secretaries changed with the prytanies and invariably belonged to the prytanizing tribes. [*Οἰνείδος*] may therefore be restored at the end of line 3. The beginning of line 4 must contain the ordinal number of the prytany, the words *πρυτανείας ἡι*, and the first letters of the secretary's name which ends in *-νων*. Here difficulties begin to arise, for even if the shortest possible numeral (*ἕκτης*) is employed only one letter-space is left for the beginning of the name of the secretary. There is only one four-letter name ending in *-νων* given in Pape's *Wörterbuch*, and this is hardly suitable for restoration in an Attic decree.⁶⁶ If a slight irregularity is to be allowed, the word *πρυτανείας* might be spelled *πρυτανέας*,⁶⁷ as indeed would have to be the case also in line 6, thus introducing a second irregularity, and the lines of the preamble would appear as follows:

[*ἄρχων Νέαιχμος· ἐπὶ*] *ἀναγραφέω*[*ς Ἀρχεδίκου |*
τοῦ Ναυκρίτου Λαμπ] *τρέως ἐπὶ τῇ*[*ς Οἰνείδος |*
ἕκτης πρυτανέας ἡι . . .] *νων ᾽Οῦθ ἐγραμ*[*μάτενε |*
 5 [*Γαμηλιῶνος ἐνάτῃ ἰσ*] *ταμένον τετ*[*άρτῃ κα |*
ὶ εἰκοστῇ τῆς πρυτανέ] *ας· ἐκκλησί*[*α· τῶν προ |*
έδρων ἐπεψήφισεν . . .] *οφων Στει*[*ρ· ἔδοξεν τ |*
ῇι βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ·] *Δημάδης Δη*[*μέου Παι |*
ανιεύς εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ Νι] *κόστρατο*[*ς — — κτλ.*]

⁶³ *I.G.*, II², 380-384, 383b.

⁶⁴ Cf. Pritchett and Meritt, *Chronology*, p. 5.

⁶⁵ Pritchett and Meritt, *op. cit.*, pp. 87-88.

⁶⁶ The name is *Βνών*, the second of the Shepherd Kings of Egypt.

⁶⁷ See Meisterhans-Schwyzler, *Grammatik der attischen Inschriften*³, p. 40. It should be noted that the three examples cited by Meisterhans all come from the 320's of the fourth century: *I.G.*, II², 415, lines 14-15 ([*αί*] *πρυτανέαι*); *I.G.*, II², 1672, lines 11-12 (*πρυτανέας*); *I.G.*, II², 373, line 17 (*πρυτανέας*). If the irregularity is to be assumed in the present instance, at least it is not anachronistic. At the end of line 4 *ἐγραμ*[*μάτενε*] must be written without nu-movable. There is an example of this peculiarity in another decree of 320/19, *I.G.*, II², 380.

The calendar equation in lines 5-6 can be controlled by the other known inscriptions of this year. Dinsmoor follows Kirchner⁶⁸ in positing an intercalary year in which prytanies I-III have 39 days each, prytanies IV-VIII 38 days each, prytany IX 37 days, and prytany X 40 days. This scheme has been built up on the basis of the following equations:

$$\begin{aligned}\text{Pryt. II} \quad 31 &= \text{Boedromion} \quad 11 \quad I.G., \text{ II}^2, 380 \\ \text{Pryt. V} \quad 36 &= \text{Posideon II} \quad 14 \quad I.G., \text{ II}^2, 381, 382 \\ \text{Pryt. [X] } 10 &= \text{[Thargelion} \quad 29] \quad I.G., \text{ II}^2, 383b\end{aligned}$$

To these may now be added also the equation of *I.G.*, II², 336b:⁶⁹

$$\text{Pryt. [VIII] } 2[6] = \text{Elaphebolion, last day.}$$

The second and last equations are not consistent with the "ideal" civil calendar of 320/19 as given by Dinsmoor in his *Archons of Athens*, p. 429, where the sequence of full and hollow months is tabulated as follows:

THEORETICAL SCHEME OF 320/19

Name of Month	No. of Days	Name of Month	No. of Days
Hekatombaion	30	Gamelion	30
Metageitnion	29	Anthesterion	29
Boedromion	30	Elaphebolion	30
Pyanepsion	29	Mounichion	29
Maimakterion	30	Thargelion	30
Posideon	30	Skirophorion	29
Posideon II	29		

Moreover, the new tentative equation of the present text (Pryt. VI 24 = Gamelion 9) cannot be reconciled with a hollow Posideon II, in view of the equation of *I.G.*, II², 381 and 382 (Pryt. V 36 = Posideon II 14), unless it be assumed that Prytany V had only 36 days. One might make this assumption and then allow 39 days each to Prytanies IV and VII, so that Pryt. VIII 26 would be the 296th day of the year with an equation to the last day of Elaphebolion (*I.G.*, II², 336b) as a full month.⁷⁰ All proposed equations could be satisfied, in fact, within the ideal year only if the sequence of prytanies were allowed to show the following minimum irregularities:

I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X
39	39	39	39	36	38	39	38	37	40

⁶⁸ Dinsmoor, *Archons of Athens*, p. 374. See Kirchner's notes on *I.G.*, II², 381 and 383b.

⁶⁹ Pritchett and Meritt, *Chronology*, p. 7.

⁷⁰ Pritchett and Meritt, *Chronology*, assumed that this was the 295th day of the year.

But it is not necessary to assume that the "ideal" civil calendar was the one actually employed by the Athenian government. The advantages in the present study of a full Posideon II can be obtained by postulating the reversal in the order of full and hollow months not with Posideon (as in the table above) but with, for example, Thargelion. In this case a table of months for 320/19 might be tentatively drawn as follows:

TENTATIVE SCHEME OF 320/19

Name of Month	No. of Days	Name of Month	No. of Days
Hekatombaion	30	Gamelion	29
Metageitnion	29	Anthesterion	30
Boedromion	30	Elaphebolion	29
Pyanepsion	29	Mounichion	30
Maimakterion	30	Thargelion	30
Posideon	29	Skirophorion	29
Posideon II	30		

This scheme allows throughout the satisfaction of the known calendar equations with less irregularity in the prytany sequence than the minimum noted above, as follows:

I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X
39	39	39	38	37	39	38	38	37	40

The slight irregularity of a short length of the fifth prytany remains, but it is not prohibitive; indeed, the equations from Prytanies V and X show that at least one of the last six prytanies must have had a maximum of 37 days anyway. It has been assumed in the ideal Kirchner-Dinsmoor scheme that this was Prytany IX; it would be equally possible for Prytany V.⁷¹

A minor variant on the tentative text proposed above with [ἄρχων Νέαιχμος] restored in line 2 is obtained by writing ἐπ' ἀναγραφέω[s instead of ἐπὶ ἀναγραφέω[s. This makes no difference in the length of line, but merely pushes the right margin one letter-space to the right. To judge from the photograph, this is not a desirable change. It looks as if, in line 16 for example, there could not be more than four letters between κα]ταληφθῆναι and the right margin. This is the determination that one makes by measurement across the photograph. It may be too small, for the right margin is not preserved along the face of the stone, and if sufficient stone has been broken away the full width cannot have been registered by the camera.⁷² The dis-

⁷¹ *I.G.*, II², 383 is no proof that Oineis could not have held the sixth prytany. For the correct text of *I.G.*, II², 383, lines 2-5, see Dinsmoor, *Archons of Athens*, p. 23.

⁷² This type of distortion in photographic reproductions is discussed by Meritt, *Epigraphica Attica*, pp. 37-41.

position of the text above, as shown on p. 236, requires five letters between *κα*]ταληφθῆναι and the margin. This, assuredly, would seem to be a maximum, so that any restoration (like [*ἄρχων Νεαίχμος· ἐπ'*] ἀναγραφέω[s etc.) in line 2 which would require an additional letter is ruled out. It may be, even, that five letters are one too many. An examination of the stone would show at once whether this is the case, but this recourse is obviously not feasible now while Greece is in the occupation of the enemy. The possibility of a restoration with only four letters is outlined in the proposed text on pp. 234-235.

The case for restoration with *ἄρχων Νεαίχμος* in line 2 has now been stated. Unless it must be abandoned because of an impossible right margin (at present not to be determined without examination of the stone) it remains a solution worth consideration. The disadvantages are small, but relatively numerous, and their cumulative weight has led us not to advocate this as a preferred restoration. They are (1) the relative rarity of the archon's name in the nominative in the preamble of a decree, (2) absence of nu-movable on *ἐγραμ[μάτευε]* in line 4, (3) the spelling of *πρυτανέας* in lines 4 and 6,⁷³ and (4) the increased irregularity which must be assumed in the sequence of the prytanies of 320/19.⁷⁴

II. THE PREAMBLE WITH

καί OR *ἐπί* BEFORE THE TITLE OF THE REGISTRAR IN LINE 2

A tentative restoration of the preamble may be begun in line 2 as follows: [*ἐπὶ Νεαίχμου ἄρχοντος καὶ*] ἀναγραφέω[s *Ἀρχ|εδίκου τοῦ Ναυκρίτου Λαμπ|τρέως*, etc. The necessary stoichedon pattern calls for a division of the name *Ἀρχ|εδίκου* between lines 2 and 3, and so much of the text now has to be restored at the left instead of the right side of the stone that the right margin is drawn in to a point where, in line 16 for example, the final letter of *κα]ταληφθῆναι* would be beyond the edge of the stone. This is a fatal objection to the proposed arrangement, which may be abandoned without further ado. The same objection would be valid if *ἐπί* were restored in line 2 instead of *καί*: [*ἐπὶ Νεαίχμου ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ*] ἀναγραφέω[s *Ἀρχ|εδίκου τοῦ Ναυκρίτου Λαμπ|τρέως* etc.

As a type, quite apart from considerations of space here, the restoration with *ἐπί* would probably be preferable. The use of *καί* is not epigraphically attested, though it has sometimes been restored in other texts.⁷⁵

If *ἐπί* is to be preferred in principle, then the abbreviated form *ἐπ'* must also be tested just as it was with the introductory [*ἄρχων Νεαίχμος*]. The substitution of *ἐπ'* for *ἐπί* allows the margin to be moved one space to the right, to give stoichedon

⁷³ To my mind the most serious textual objection.

⁷⁴ This seems to me the least serious objection.

⁷⁵ See Pritchett and Meritt, *Chronology*, p. 88.

lines divided as follows: [ἐπὶ Νεαίχμου ἄρχοντος ἐπ'] ἀναγραφέω[ς Ἀρχε|δίκου τοῦ Ναυκρίτου Λαμπ]τρέως ἐπὶ τῇ[ς Οἶν|εἶδος ἔκτης πρυτανείας ἡι .]νων Ὁῆθ.

This text is, in effect, the same as that proposed above with [ἄρχων Νεαίχμος], except of course for line 2 and for the margins, and it is subject to some of the same objections:

- [ἐπὶ Νεαίχμου ἄρχοντος ἐπ'] ἀναγραφέω[ς Ἀρχε]
 [δίκου τοῦ Ναυκρίτου Λαμπ]τρέως ἐπὶ τῇ[ς Οἶν]
 [εἶδος ἔκτης πρυτανείας ἡι . .]νων Ὁῆθ ἐγραμ[μ]
 5 [άτευε· Γαμηλιῶνος ἐνάτηι ἰσ]ταμένον τετ[άρ]
 [τηι καὶ εἰκοστῇ τῆς πρυτανέ]ας· ἐκκλησί[α· τ]
 [ὦν προέδρων ἐπειρήφιζεν . . .]οφων Στει[ρ· ἔδ]
 [οξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ·] Δημάδης Δη[μέ]
 [ου Παιανιεύς εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ Νι]κόστρατο[ς -κτλ.-]

The obvious difficulty, however, is still with the right margin. Too few letters are restored at the ends of the lines. This can be remedied to the extent of one letter-space by assuming syllabic division.

- [ἐπὶ Νεαίχμου ἄρχοντος ἐπ'] ἀναγραφέω[ς Ἀρχε^v]
 [δίκου τοῦ Ναυκρίτου Λαμπ]τρέως· ἐπὶ τῇ[ς Οἶνη]
 [ίδος ἔκτης πρυτανείας ἡι . .]νων Ὁῆθ ἐγραμ[μά]
 5 [τευε· Γαμηλιῶνος δεκάτηι ἰσ]ταμένον τετ[άρ^v]
 [τηι καὶ εἰκοστῇ τῆς πρυτανέ]ας· ἐκκλησί[α^{vv}]
 [τῶν προέδρων ἐπειρήφιζεν . . .]οφων Στει[ρ· ἔδο]
 [ξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ·^v] Δημάδης Δη[μέ^v]
 [ου Παιανιεύς εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ Νι]κόστρατο[ς -κτλ.-]

This change relieves also the pressure in line 4, permitting the normal spelling of *πρυτανείας*, and in line 5, permitting the restoration of the date as Gamelion 10. The calendar determination allows a smooth sequence of prytanies through the middle of the year, in the sequence ⁷⁶

I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X
39	39	39	38	38	38	38	38	37	40

But the nu-movable is still absent from ἐγραμ|μάτευε in line 5, the spelling *πρυτανείας* remains in line 6, and an uninscribed space has to be posited before the name of the orator in line 8. In spite of every concession to gain space along the right margin, one can restore only one letter-space after κα|ταληφθῆναι in line 16, and within all reason this must be considered below a minimum requirement. So wide an uninscribed margin of stone would be extraordinary.

⁷⁶ Gamelion 10 is the 217th day of the year.

Thus we return once again to the formula of the preamble with a stoichedon line of 37 letters, as proposed on p. 234 above. Reference to this text shows syllabic division, attested at the end of line 5 and so presumably employed elsewhere, as at the end of line 8. The right margin as determined by the restorations agrees well with the physical requirements of the stone as shown in the photograph, and many small irregularities of other tentative proposals are obviated. The word *πρυτανείας* in lines 4 and 6 is properly spelled, *ἐγραμ|μάτευεν* has the usual nu-movable in line 5, and the calendar equation permits a regular sequence of months and prytanies throughout the winter of 320/19. The irregularity which must be assumed is the crowding by one letter of *Οἰνείδος* at the end of line 3. This could be avoided by assuming an extra uninscribed space at the ends of the other lines, perhaps writing in lines 8-9 *Δημάδης Δη[μέον Παι|ανιεύς εἶπεν· ἐπαινέσαι Νι]κόστρατο[ν — — κτλ. — —]*, but this might perhaps push the margin too far to the right.⁷⁷ It seems preferable to allow *Οἰνείδος*, a word containing two iotas, to be written in the space of seven letters, or (alternatively) to allow the final sigma to appear at the beginning of line 4, on the principle that syllabic division began at the end of line 5. In any event the date by prytany seems to have been the 24th, for no arrangement either of syllabic or non-syllabic division will yield the alternatives of 4th, 14th, and 34th. It would be possible to equate Pryt. IX 24 with Thargelion 5 (assuming Pryt. IX to have had 38 days) and to make the appropriate restorations in lines 4 and 5, if one were to omit the nu-movable of *ἐγραμ|μάτευε*. A decision cannot be reached with the evidence available, so we have chosen the equation Pryt. VI 24 = Gamelion 10 as requiring less irregularity in restoration.

It will be observed that no syllabic division will permit the restoration [*ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ*] in lines 7 and 8.⁷⁸ We have chosen the alternative formula [*καὶ συμπρόεδροι*], which is attested in *I.G.*, II², 399 and 400, now known to belong to the career of the elder Demades.⁷⁹ It remains to note that a name longer than [*Ἴοφῶν*] might be restored in line 7, with [*κυρία*] omitted at the end of line 6, and that the ethnic of Nikostratos, partly preserved in line 1, may have been *Φιλ[ιππεύς]*. The decree seems to be a grant of praise and citizenship to Nikostratos, but because of its fragmentary nature the chief interest lies not in the decree proper but in the practice in restoration afforded by the prescript and in the evidence this prescript contains for the calendar of the year 320/19.

It will be observed that Dinsmoor's theoretical civil calendar scheme (p. 237) may be retained without change—as an alternative solution—if the text here proposed is correct and if the conciliar year has a sequence of prytanies as follows:

I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X
39	39	39	39	37	38	39	37	37	40

⁷⁷ See above, p. 239.

⁷⁸ This longer formula occurs instead of the more usual *ἔδοξεν τῷ δήμῳ* in *I.G.*, II², 383b.

⁷⁹ Pritchett and Meritt, *Chronology*, pp. 3-4.

PRAISE OF MIKALION

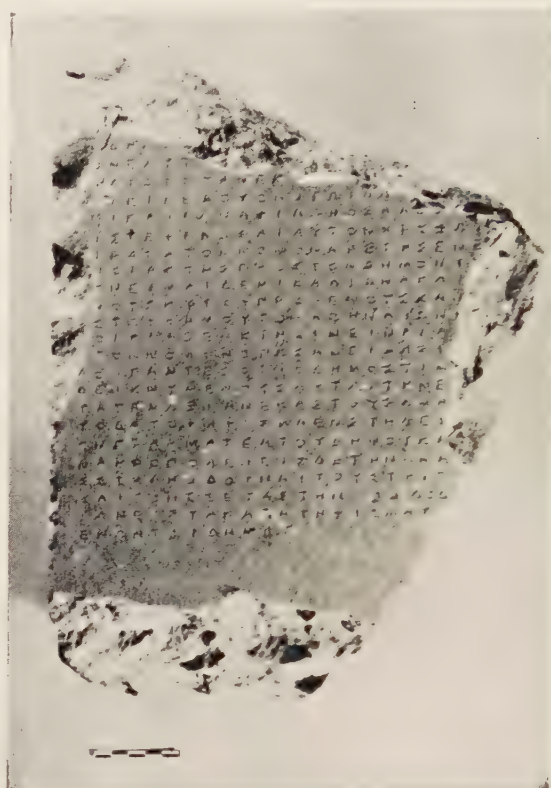
7. Fragment of Hymettian marble, found on April 5, 1939, in an accumulated deposit of late date below the cliff near Klepsydra. The back and left side are preserved.

Height, 0.372 m.; width, 0.275 m.; thickness, *ca.* 0.085 m.

Height of letters, 0.005 m.

Inv. No. I 5772.

The lettering is stoichedon, with a square checker pattern in which five lines, or five rows, measure 0.05 m.



No. 7.

301/0-295/4 B.C.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 29

- [.]η[-----]
 [. .] δῆμο[ν τὸν Ἀθηναίων καὶ ἀεὶ πρόθυ]
 [μ]ον ἑαυτ[ὸν παρέχει πᾶσιν ἰδία διδ]
 [ό]ναι ὅτου ἂν ἔκ[αστος δέηται· ἀγαθεῖ]
 5 [τύ]χει δεδόχθαι τῶι δῆ[μῳ ἐπαινέσα]
 ι Μικαλίωνα Φίλωνος Ἀλεξ[ανδρ(ε)έα κ]
 [α]ὶ στεφανῶσαι αὐτὸν χρυσῶι [στεφάν]
 [ω]ι κατὰ τὸν νόμον ἀρετῆς ἔνε[κα καὶ ε]
 [ύ]νοίας τῆς πρὸς τὸν δῆμον τ[ὸν Ἀθηνα]
 10 [ί]ων· εἶναι δὲ Μικαλίωνα καὶ [τοὺς ἐγκ]
 [ό]νους αὐτοῦ προξένους καὶ [εὐεργέτ]
 [α]ς τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων κ[αὶ γῆς κα]
 [ὶ] οἰκίας ἔγκτησιν εἶναι α[ὐτοῖς κατ]

- [ἀ] τὸν νόμον ὅπως ἂν εἰδῶσι[ν καὶ οἱ ἄλλ]
 15 λοι πάντες ὅτι ὁ δῆμος τιμ[αί τοὺς ἐν]
 δεικνυμένους αὐτῶι τήν ε[ὔνοϊαν κα]
 τὰ τήν ἀξίαν ἐκάστους· ἀνα[γράψαι δὲ]
 τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα ἐν στήλει [λιθίνει τ]
 ὃν γραμματέα τοῦ δήμου κα[ὶ στήσαι ἐ]
 20 ν ἀκροπόλει· εἰς δὲ τήν ἀνα[γραφὴν τῇ]
 σ στήλης δοῦναι τοὺς τριτ[υάρχους]
 καὶ τὸν ἐξεταστήν^v ΔΔΔ : δ[ραχμὰς ἐκ]
 τῶν εἰς τὰ κατὰ ψηφίσματ' ἀ[ναλισκομ]
 ἐνων τῶι δήμῳ.

The date of the inscription can be fixed within limits by the mention of the trittarchs and the exetastes as disbursing officers.⁸⁰ The writing is much like that of *I.G.*, II², 557.

SITOPHYLAKES (?) OF THE CITY

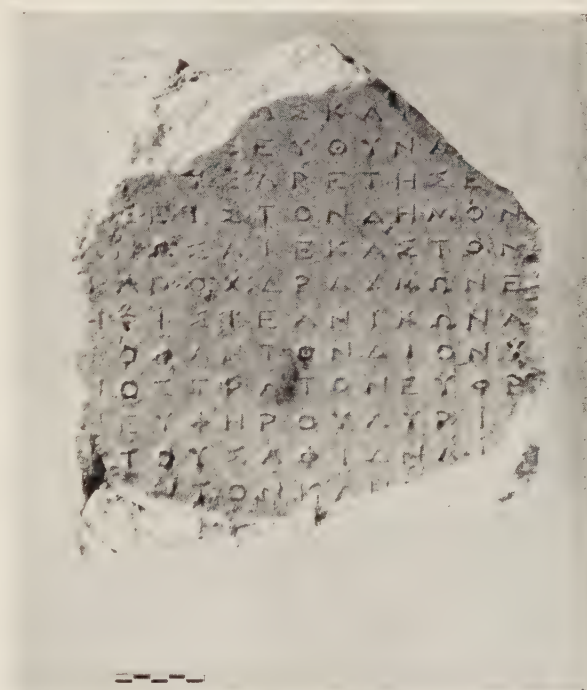
8. Fragment of Pentelic marble, with the right side and back preserved, found on May 9, 1939, in Section II.

Height, 0.255 m.; width, 0.222 m.;
 thickness, 0.155 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.008 m.

Inv. No. I 5824.

The lettering is stoichedon, five lines measuring 0.082 m. and five columns 0.08 m. The writing is so nearly like that of *I.G.*, II², 472 that it may well be by the same hand; but the disposition of the present text is slightly more open.⁸¹



No. 8.

⁸⁰ Meritt, *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, pp. 278-280.

⁸¹ A photograph of *I.G.*, II², 472 is given in *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXIX, 1914, p. 288.

ca. 300 B.C.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 31

- [ἐπειδὴ ---- οἱ ἐπὶ ---- ἄρχοντ]ο[ς ἡρξ]
 [αν τὴν ἀρχὴν καλῶς καὶ δικαί]ως καὶ [περ]
 [ὲ πάντων ὧν ἐπεμελοῦντο τ]ὰς εὐθύνας[ς δ]
 [εδώκασιν ἐπαινέσαι αὐ]τοὺς ἀρετῆς ἔ[ν]
 5 [εκα καὶ δικαιосύνης τῇ]ς εἰς τὸν δῆμον
 [τὸν Ἀθηναίων καὶ στεφ]ανῶσαι ἕκαστον
 [αὐτῶν χρυσῶι στεφάνῳ]ι ἀπὸ : X : δραχμῶν E
 [----- K]ηφισιέα Νίκωνα
 [----- Δ]ιόφαντον Διονυ
 10 [-----]νόστρατον Εὐφρ
 [-----]ν Εὐφύρου Αὐρί[δ]
 [ην -----]τους Ἀφιδναῖ[ο]
 [ν· στεφανῶσαι δὲ καὶ αὐτῶ]ν τὸν κληρ[ωτὸ]
 [ν γραμματέα -----]

The decree honors a board of six men (lines 7-13) and their secretary (line 14) who was chosen by lot. One is reminded of the decree published in *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 445-446, which honored the board of sitophylakes of the archonship of Athenodoros (240/39 B.C.) and their allotted secretary. The present board is not defined on the preserved part of the stone, but they may also have been the Sitophylakes of the City.

Aristotle (*Ἀθ. Πολ.*, 51, 3) recorded that the sitophylakes had originally been ten in number, five for the city and five for the Peiraeus, but that in his day the number had been increased to twenty for the city and fifteen for the Peiraeus. The honorary decree of the archonship of Athenodoros proves that by 240/39 the number for the city had been again reduced to five. Inasmuch as this falls within the period of the twelve tribes, it was possible to assume that the secretary made up the group of six so as to divide the board evenly between Athens and the Peiraeus with equality also in tribal representation. Presumably in the early period mentioned by Aristotle, when there were only ten tribes, the secretary had not been counted in the fixing of tribal distribution. Nor, apparently, was he counted as one of the critical number in the inscription published here. The text names, or has place for, six members of the board in addition to the secretary. This represents the Aristotelian norm, with allowance made for the fact that this inscription probably should be dated after the creation of the Macedonian tribes. Its nearest parallel in physical appearance (*I.G.*, II², 472; see above) belongs in 306/5 B.C., and if there was equal division between Athens and the Peiraeus the six names of commissioners in themselves suggest a date after 307 B.C.

It will be observed that the names of the commissioners are arranged in tribal order, with the demes: Kephisia (III), ----- (?), ----- (?),

————— (?), Auridai (X), and Aphidnai (XI). This is a normal method of keeping the record, though it should be noted that the tribal order was not followed in *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 445-446.

Before Aristotle's time, therefore, there was a board of ten (with two secretaries) and at some time after 307 B.C. (perhaps *ca.* 300) there was a normal board of twelve (likewise with two secretaries). This is reasonably sure to have been the case if the definition of the board in the present text has been rightly determined. At any rate the board of 240/39 B.C. shows that there had been a change back toward normal from the expanded commissions of Aristotle's day, and it may be that the present text enables us to fix the return to normal earlier than has been possible hitherto.

It seems clear that the large commissions in existence when Aristotle wrote his chapter on the Sitophylakes in the *Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία* were occasioned directly by the conditions of famine in Athens in the 320's. Epigraphically, a scarcity of grain is proved from 330/29 to 328/7 B.C. by *I.G.*, II², 360, a decree which mentions contributions made by Herakleides of Salamis in both these years and praises him for them. In 328/7 there were systematic contributions (*I.G.*, II², 360, lines 10-11: *καὶ πάλιν ὅτε αἱ ἐπιδόσεις ἦσαν ἐπέδωκε* : XXX : *δραχμάς*; lines 70-71: *καὶ πάλιν ἐπ' Εὐθυκρίτου ἄρχοντος ἐπέδωκεν* — — — *εἰς σιτωνίαν* XXX *δραχμάς*), which indicate that extraordinary measures were being taken to relieve the shortage. Equally extraordinary measures of control would have been in order. The functions of the enlarged boards of sitophylakes, as described by Aristotle, were (1) to see that the grain in the market was sold fairly, (2) to see that the millers sold barley-meal at a price corresponding to the price of the barley, and (3) to see that the bread-merchants sold loaves at prices corresponding to the price of the wheat, and of such weight as they might prescribe. In difficult times the control of prices required a commission of more than the normal one man per tribe.

The names of the commissioners in the present text are not otherwise known. It seems at first glance that Diophantos (line 9) might be the same as *Διόφαντος Διονυσοδώρου Φηγούσιος*, who was secretary of the Council in 303/2 B.C.⁸² The patronymic *Διονυ* — — — is readily expanded to *Διονυ*[*σοδώρου*], and no considerations of space forbid the restoration of the demotic *Φηγούσιον* in line 10. The difficulty is that the deme Phegous belongs to the tribe Erechtheis, which is already represented on the board by E — — — of Kephisia (lines 7-8). It is best to attempt no supplement for the patronymic, and to abandon this identification. As more and more Attic names are discovered there is a natural increase in the danger of identifying homonyms. The name Eupheros in line 11 is a case in point. Some years ago this name was known only in association with the demes of Kephisia and Aphidnai.⁸³ A certain *Πρέπης*

⁸² Pritchett and Meritt, *Chronology*, p. xv.

⁸³ Kirchner, *P.A.*, 6044 and 6045.

Εὐφύρου was thought to have been secretary of the Council in 422/1, so it seemed not unreasonable to restore his demotic as Ἀφιδναῖος in one of the Athenian tribute-quota lists (List 33),⁸⁴ thereby determining the date of the list. New evidence was not long in coming to show how wrong this was, and the list in question is now assigned to 418/7 with Prepis in 421/0 B.C.⁸⁵ It is possible even that Prepis was from Xypete.⁸⁶ If that is true, presumably his father also was from Xypete. This inscription reveals a fourth deme, Auridai, associated with the name Eupheros. The precision in restoration that seemed possible five years ago seems to have been made plausible largely by lack of evidence.

The restorations of lines 2-4, it should be noted, are given by way of example. Other wordings are possible, though the sense must remain much the same. It would be epigraphically within bounds to read καὶ [κατὰ τοὺς νόμους καὶ ἐπειδὴ τ]ὰς εὐθύνα[ς δεδώκασιν ---].

THE RIGHT OF ASYLUM AT SMYRNA

9. Fragment of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides, found on April 5, 1933, in a fill of Turkish or later date in Section I.

Height, 0.165 m.; width, 0.147 m.; thickness, 0.06 m.

Height of letters, 0.005 m.

Inv. No. I 672.

The lettering is stoichedon, five lines measuring *ca.* 0.07 m. and five columns measuring on centers *ca.* 0.047 m.

ca. 246 B.C.

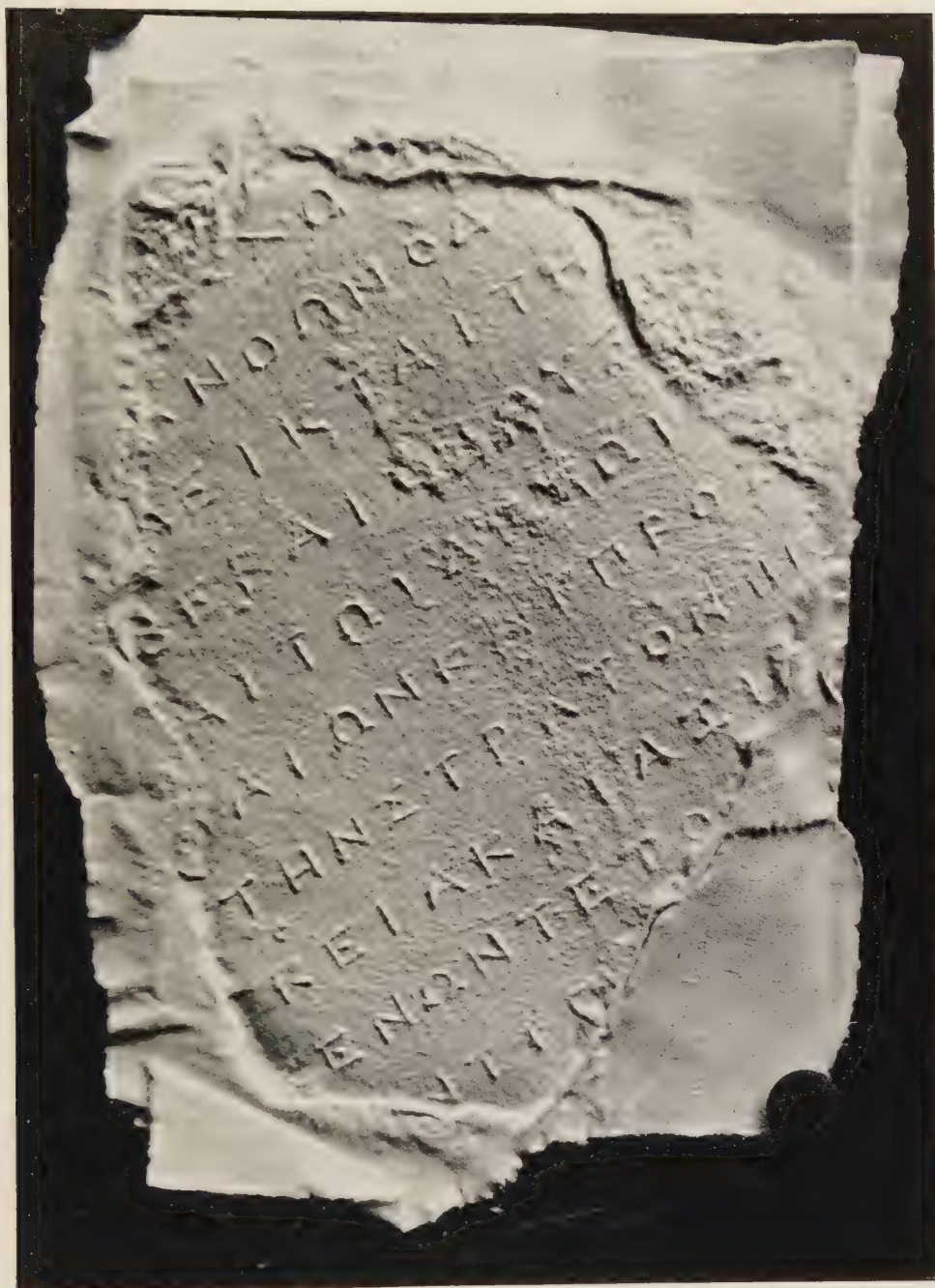
ΣΤΟΙΧ. 49

[----- καὶ τὴν τε ὑπάρ]
 [χουσαν αὐτοῖ]ς χώ[ραν βεβαιοῖ καὶ τὴν πατρίδα ἐπαγγέλλεται]
 [ἀποδώσειν·] ἃ νοῶν ὁ δῆ[μος ὁ Σμυρναίων πρεσβευτὰς ἀπέσταλκε]
 [καὶ ἀποδέ]δεικται τῇ[ν εὐνοίαν τοῦ βασιλέως Σελεύκου εἰλικ]
 5 [ρινῇ καὶ] βέβαιον οὔσ[αν πρὸς τὴν πόλιν αὐτῶν καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἱερό]
 [ν· δεδόχθ]αι τῷ δήμῳ· |ἐπαινέσαι τοὺς ἥκοντας πρεσβευτὰς πα|
 [ρὰ Σμυρν]αίων καὶ προσ[----- τὴν Ἀφ|
 [ροδίτην] τὴν Στρατονικ|ίδα -----]
 [. ο]ἱ κέῖα κατάξι|α ? -----]
 [.]σενων τε το[-----]
 [.]ντιε|-----]

⁸⁴ Meritt, Wade-Gery, McGregor, *The Athenian Tribute Lists*, Vol. I, p. 200. For the text cf. p. 151. See also Meritt's article in *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 57-58.

⁸⁵ Meritt, *A.J.P.*, LXII, 1941, pp. 1-15.

⁸⁶ See the text of *I.G.*, I², 773a in *A.J.P.*, LXII, 1941, p. 11.



No. 9.

The lettering serves to date the inscription near the middle of the third century B.C. It is much like that of the decree published as *Hesperia*, III, 1934, no. 11, and indeed I once thought that the two pieces might be part of one document. But the subject matter does not allow this association. The present text deals with the right of asylum in the city of Smyrna and in the sanctuary of Aphrodite Stratonikis, as will appear below, while the decree published earlier seems to be in praise of a local Athenian board of magistrates. The letters IOIX formerly left without restoration in line 6⁸⁷ are part of the phrase [οἱ -----] οἱ χ[ειροτονηθέντες --], and lines 6-8 may accordingly be read:

[----- εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ οἱ -----] οἱ χ[ειρ]
[οτονηθέντες εἰς τὸν ἐπὶ ----- ἄρχοντος ἐνιαυτὸν τ]ῇν πᾶσ[αν ἐ]
[πιμέλειαν -----] ΑΙΕ[. . .]

So the new piece is not part of the older text, though it looks much like it and may well be by the same hand. The associations of the present text are determined by the appearance of the name Stratonikis in line 8.

Early in his reign Seleukos II had confirmed the autonomy and democracy of Smyrna and had written to "the kings, dynasts, cities, and nations," asking that they accept the sanctuary of Aphrodite Stratonikis and the city of Smyrna as inviolate.⁸⁸ One of his letters was sent to Delphi, and the Smyrnaeans for their part sent two envoys, Hermodoros and Demetrios, to ask that the concessions given to them be inscribed in the sanctuary. The city of Delphi granted both requests, and their decree in reply to Smyrna is still almost perfectly preserved.⁸⁹

Apparently the Smyrnaeans sent envoys also to Athens to support the proposal made by the king. Basing a judgment on preserved words alone, one may read in lines 3-5: ὁ δὴ[μος --- ἀποδέ]δεικται τῇ[ν -----] βέβαιον οὖσ[αν ---]. This is part of one of the motivating clauses of the decree, and is preceded by the words ἀ νοῶν. Here the demos of Smyrna, bearing in mind certain considerations set forth in the early lines now largely lost, states its case to the demos of the Athenians. Naturally, this was done through accredited representatives, and it is reasonable to expect that the language of the Athenian response—which we have before us—reflects in some measure the language of the address of the ambassadors.

Such would have been the case also at Delphi, so the restorations offered above for lines 1-3 have been taken from the Delphic text (*O.G.I.S.*, no. 228, lines 8-9) *verbatim*: καὶ τὰν τε ὑπάρχουσαν αὐτοῖς χώραν βεβαιοῖ καὶ τὰν πατρί[δα] ἐπαγγέλλεται

⁸⁷ See *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 9.

⁸⁸ *O.G.I.S.*, no. 229, lines 10-12: ἐβεβαίωσεν τῷ δήμῳ τὴν αὐτονομίαν καὶ τὴν δημοκρατίαν, ἔγραψεν δὲ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς βασιλεῖς καὶ τοὺς δυνάστας καὶ τὰς πόλεις καὶ τὰ ἔθνη ἀξιώσας ἀποδέξασθαι τό τε ἱερὸν τῆς Στρατονικίδος Ἀφροδίτης ἄστυλον εἶναι καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν ἱερὰν καὶ ἄστυλον.

⁸⁹ *O.G.I.S.*, no. 228.

ἀποδώσειν. This was the last clause of the Delphic text naming the benefactions of Seleukos to Smyrna, and, as restored in the present text, it forms one of the considerations summed up in ἃ νοῶν of line 3 which led the Smyrnaeans to emphasize their friendship with Seleukos.⁹⁰ These restorations determine the tentative length of line, which is of course conjectural just as the restorations themselves are conjectural. I have followed the outline of the Delphic text still further by allowing mention of the ambassadors to appear in line 3 and the formula of resolution to appear in line 6. But with so much lost it would be rash to affirm that this arrangement is correct. The certain fact, in my opinion, is that this decree is part of the Athenian reply of acceptance given to the plea from the city of Smyrna that the right of asylum be recognized for the city and the sanctuary of Aphrodite Stratonikis.

Inasmuch as the Delphic response was given in a Pythian year, the date assumed for it has been either 246 or 242 B.C., soon after the accession of Seleukos II.⁹¹ The question of date becomes involved, though not intimately, with that of the founding of the Aitolian Soteria, for Athens accepted the Soteria in the archonship of Polyektos (249/8) and Smyrna accepted the Soteria in a decree which must be dated in 247/6 or later—because it names Seleukos as king—and in which she addressed the Aitolian League with reference to her own rights of asylum.⁹² The acceptance by Smyrna followed more closely after the acceptance by Athens if the issue of asylum was raised in 246, and if Smyrna took this occasion to send her belated acceptance of the Soteria. It may be that the same ambassadors traveled to Athens and to Delphi.⁹³ If the Athenians did not delay their reply, or if—as our restoration in line 6 implies—they praised these ambassadors while they were present in the city, then the date of the Athenian text also should be 246 B.C.⁹⁴

PRAISE OF THE EPHESIANS

10. Fragment of Hymettian marble, with the right side and rough-picked back preserved, found in the wall of a modern house in Section BB on October 17, 1938. The preserved side shows marks of a fine-toothed chisel.

⁹⁰ For [εἰλικρινῇ καὶ] βέβαιον in lines 4-5, see, for example, *O.G.I.S.*, no. 227, lines 12-14: εἰλικρινῇ καὶ βεβαίᾳ ποιουμένους ἡμᾶς πρὸς τοὺς φίλους ἀπόδεξιγ καὶ μεμνημένους ὧν ἂν εὖ πάθῃτε. . . .

⁹¹ W. S. Ferguson, *Athenian Tribal Cycles*, p. 114; L. Robert, *B.C.H.*, LIV, 1930, pp. 326-332; W. B. Dinsmoor, *The Athenian Archon List in the Light of Recent Discoveries*, pp. 117-118, and references there cited.

⁹² *Fouilles de Delphes*, III, 1, no. 483. Cf. Dinsmoor, *loc. cit.* The date of Polyektos here given is taken from Pritchett and Meritt, *The Chronology of Hellenistic Athens*, pp. xxi and 30, note 17.

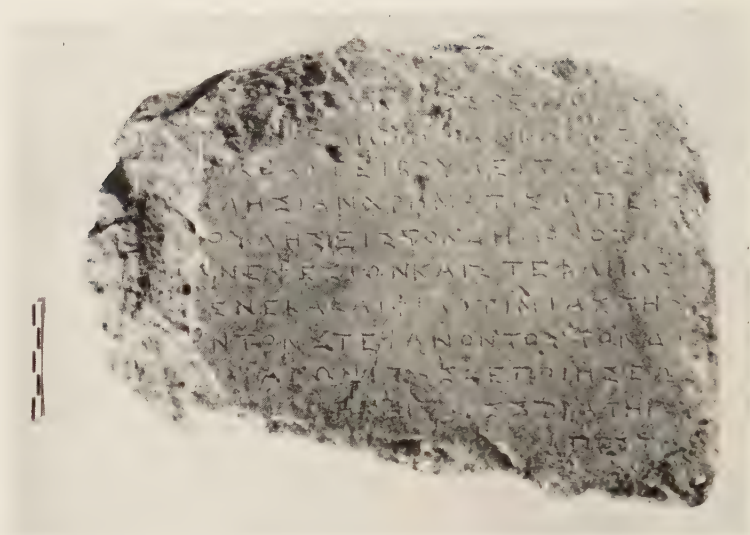
⁹³ We have assumed a certain similarity in the Delphic and Athenian responses, which would be natural if the representations in both cities were made by the same envoys. Cf. L. Robert, *B.C.H.*, LIV, 1930, p. 326, note 1.

⁹⁴ For alternative dates of *O.G.I.S.*, no. 229 see Ferguson, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

Height, 0.16 m.; width,
0.223 m.; thickness, 0.128 m.

Height of letters, 0.008 m.

Inv. No. I 5589.



No. 10.

ca. 200 B.C.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. ca. 50

- [----- οἱ δὲ παρ' Ἐφεσίων ἀποστα]λ[έντ]ες θεω[ρ]οὶ τὴν
[ἐπιδημίαν Ἀθήνησιν κατὰ τὰ Πτολεμαῖα (?) ἐ]πεδήμησαν κα[λ]ῶς κ[αὶ]
[καταξίως τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἐφεσίων· δεδό]χθαι τεῖ βουλευί τοὺς λ[α]
[χόντας προέδρους εἰς τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἐκ]κλησίαν χρηματίσαι περ[ὶ]
5 [τούτων· γνώμην δὲ ξυμβάλλεσθαι τῆς β]ουλῆς εἰς τὸν δῆμον ὅτι δ[ο]
[κεῖ τεῖ βουλεῖ· ἐπαινέσαι τὸν δῆμον τ]ὸν Ἐφεσίων καὶ στεφανῶσα[ι]
[χρυσῶι στεφάνωι κατὰ τὸν νόμον εὐνοία]ς ἕνεκα καὶ φιλοτιμίας τῆς
[εἰς τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων καὶ ἀνειπε]ῖν τὸν στέφανον τοῦτον δι
10 [ουυσίων τῶν ἐν ἄστει τραγωιδῶν τῶι καιν]ῶι ἀγῶνι· τῆς δὲ ποιήσεως
[τοῦ στεφάνου καὶ τῆς ἀναγορεύσεως ἐπιμεληθῆ]ναι τοὺς στρατηγού[ς]
[καὶ τὸν ταμίαν τῶν στρατιωτικῶν· τὰ δὲ ψηφίσματα] τὰ ἀποστα
[λέντα -----]

The lettering is much like that of *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, no. 49 (192/1 B.C.)⁹⁵ and *Hesperia*, III, 1934, no. 19 (166/5 B.C.). It is a distinctive style which Dow thought came from only one hand.⁹⁶ My own opinion that the similarities need not imply an identity of hands has been expressed elsewhere,⁹⁷ and I do not wish to claim common authorship for the writing of the present text. But so far as the epigraphical evidence is concerned, a date ca. 200 B.C. is not improbable. I suggest it because of the possibility that the subject-matter of this inscription may be related to that of another decree in praise of Ephesos⁹⁸ which Robert has shown to refer to the Ptolemaia at

⁹⁵ See Pritchett and Meritt, *Chronology*, pp. 113-116.

⁹⁶ *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, p. 107.

⁹⁷ Meritt, *Epigraphica Attica*, p. 104.

⁹⁸ *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 448-453.

Athens.⁹⁹ In that decree *πρεσβευταί* come to Athens bringing a decree of praise from Ephesos; they are received by a *θεωροδόκος*, and Athens responds with a decree in praise of Ephesos. In the present text *Θεωροί* (line 1) come from Ephesos (line 6), perhaps bringing decrees of praise (line 11), and Athens praises in return the demos of Ephesos. The suggestion that these delegates also came for the celebration of the Ptolemaia is made with the tentative restoration *κατὰ τὰ Πτολεμαῖα* in line 2. This is conjectural, but if it is correct the date ought to be earlier than 196 B.C. when Ephesos ceased to be under the control of Ptolemy.¹⁰⁰

In line 11 the final letters *αποστα-* are certain. The letters which I have written as *τὰ* consist merely of the tip of an upper horizontal stroke, with finials, appropriate for tau (but also appropriate for gamma, epsilon, or zeta) and the two uprights of alpha. So far as the traces remain this second letter is, in fact, lambda and perhaps should be read as <α>; I have no suggestion for a restoration with lambda. In line 6 the first preserved letter seems, from the photograph, to be omega. I have restored *τὸν δῆμον τ]*<δ>ν Ἐφεσίων. There are undoubtedly other restorations than *τὰ ψηφίσματα* in line 11. Some, like *τοὺς δὲ πρὸς τὸν βασιλ]*ῆα ἀποστα[λέντας, etc., I have tried and rejected because they involve conclusions not otherwise supported by the preserved lines.

Very little of the decree proper is preserved, except the formula of resolution and the stereotyped phraseology of the granting of praise and crown. The opening lines, which recorded the several items of motivation, included also praise of the delegates from Ephesos for the exemplary conduct of their mission while they were in Athens. There must also have been acknowledgment of decrees passed at Ephesos in honor of Athens, if the restoration of *τὰ ψηφίσματα* in line 11 is to be justified.

The first preserved lines of the earlier decree praising Ephesos have been interpreted by Robert also as the concluding paragraph in its items of motivation.¹⁰¹ The text which he proposes may be reconstructed as follows:¹⁰²

[. . .] ΟΥΞΔΕΙΙΚΩ [--- τὸν ἀγωνοθέτην (or τὸν ἱεροκήρυκα) ἀναγορε]
[ύε]ιν,¹⁰³ ἐπειδὴν ὁ γυμν[ικὸς ἀγὼν συντελεσθῇ, ὅτι· ὁ δῆμος στε]
φανοῖ χρυσῶι στεφάνωι [κατὰ τὸν νόμον τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων εὖσε]
βείας ἔνεκα τῆς πρὸς τοὺς [θεοὺς καὶ εὐνοίας τῆς εἰς τὴν βουλὴν]

⁹⁹ L. Robert, *Études épigraphiques et philologiques* (Paris, 1938), pp. 62-69. To avoid confusion one should note that in his note 6 on p. 62 Robert twice gives incorrect references to *Hesperia*. For Vol. V read Vol. VI, and for Vol. VI read Vol. VII. The same mistake (V for VI) also appears in his index (p. 318).

¹⁰⁰ Cf. *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 452; Robert, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

¹⁰¹ L. Robert, *op. cit.*, p. 66: Donc, ces lignes ne font pas partie des décisions, mais des considérants du décret, là où le décret rappelle ce qu'ont dit devant le peuple athénien les ambassadeurs éphésiens et les honneurs qu'ils lui ont annoncés.

¹⁰² L. Robert, *op. cit.*, pp. 65-66.

¹⁰³ Or perhaps: [ἀναγορεύειν (vel simile) τὸν ἀγωνοθέτ]ην, ἐπειδὴν κτλ.

καὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἐφεσίων· [δεδόχθαι τῶι δῆμῳ· ἐλέσθαι μὲν]
 [θ]εωροδόκον ἐξ Ἀθηναίων ἀπάντ[ων· ἐπαινέσαι δὲ τὸν δῆμον τὸν]
 [Ἐφ]εσίων καὶ στεφαν[ῶ]σαι χρυσῶι στεφάνῳ [κατὰ τὸν νόμον εὐσεβεί]
 [α]ς ἕνεκα τῆς πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ εὐνοίας τῆς εἰς τ[ὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθη]
 ναίων καὶ τὸν βασιλέα Πτολεμαῖον καὶ ἀνειπεῖν τὸν [στέφανον]
 τοῦτον Διονυσίων τῶν ἐν ἄστει καινοῖς τραγωιδοῖς καὶ Πανα[θη]
 ναί[ω]ν καὶ Ἐλευσινίων καὶ Πτολεμαίων τοῖς γυμνικοῖς ἀγῶσιν·

Robert restores the formula of resolution *δεδόχθαι τῶι δῆμῳ* in line 5,¹⁰⁴ and so assumes that the preserved lines record all the decisions of the decree proper.¹⁰⁵

This interpretation is erroneous, for the attempt to do away with the phrase *τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων*, which seemed embarrassing as the subject of *ἐλέσθαι* in line 5, has resulted in the substitution of another space-filler, *δεδόχθαι τῶι δῆμῳ*, which is demonstrably out of place. The conclusive evidence that the formula of resolution cannot have appeared in line 5 is that the beginning of one of the resolutions appears in line 1.

The photograph published by Margaret Crosby in *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 449, shows that there are not two letter-spaces before the preserved letters of lines 1 and 2, but only one. Robert's suggested *ἀναγορεύε]ω* for lines 1-2 thus makes a proper syllabic division.¹⁰⁶ At the beginning of line 1 the reading is [τ]οὺς δὲ !ΚΟ ---. Here is preserved the characteristic opening (with δέ) of a new clause embodying one of the items resolved upon in the decree. It is not, and cannot be construed as, part of a clause of motivation. Moreover, the letters !ΚΟ, which I should prefer to read !ΚΟ with K and O quite certain, fall into place appropriately as part of the word ἦκο[ντας], which Dittenberger lists in his index (*S.I.G.*, IV³, p. 373) as in common use with ambassadors: *plerumque de legatis*. The construction of the decree shows that the Athenians resolved to let the ambassadors who had come from Ephesos make their proclamation of a golden crown for the demos of Athens when they could have an opportunity to come before the people at the celebration of the *γυμνικὸς ἀγών*.¹⁰⁷ Thus we find also a smooth transition in thought from the privileges granted the ambassadors to the election of the theorodokos in lines 5-6. The program for the appearance of the ambassadors having been settled, the Athenian demos resolved to

¹⁰⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 66: Donc, la formule de résolution, qui sépare ces deux parties d'un décret, se trouve juste à la ligne 5. Précisément, non seulement la restitution proposée pour la ligne 5 n'a rien de nécessaire, mais elle a été jugée embarrassante. J'écris: καὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἐφεσίων· [δεδόχθαι τῶι δῆμῳ· ἐλέσθαι μὲν θ]εωροδόκον ἐξ Ἀθηναίων ἀπάντ[ων· ἐπαινέσαι δὲ κτλ.].

¹⁰⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 66: Ce fragment de décret nous conserve donc toutes les décisions prises, en cette affaire, par le peuple athénien.

¹⁰⁶ The penultimate letter cannot have been eta, so Robert's alternative reading ἀγωνοθέτ]ην need no longer be considered (note 103).

¹⁰⁷ I believe that Robert's reading γυμν[ικὸς ἀγών] in line 2 is correct, though I prefer γένηται to his συντελεσθῆναι for the verb, with the subject of στε]φανοῖς specified precisely as ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἐφεσίων.

assign responsibility for their entertainment while in the city. One can restore the second half of line 5 as τοῖς δὲ πρεσβευταῖς χειροτονῆσαι, or perhaps better as τούτοις δὲ τὸν δῆμον χειροτονῆσαι. I read the text as follows:

ca. 220 B.C.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. ca. 50

- [τ]οὺς δὲ ἤκο[ντας πρεσβευτὰς παρ' Ἐφεσίων παρελθόντας ἀναγορεύ]
 [ε]ἰν ἐπειδὴν ὁ γυμν[ικὸς ἀγὼν γένηται ὅτι ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἐφεσίων στε]
 φανοῖ χρυσῶι στεφάνωι [τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων κατὰ τὸν νόμον εὖσε]
 βείας ἔνεκα τῆς πρὸς τοὺς [θεοὺς καὶ εὐνοίας τῆς εἰς τὴν βουλὴν]
 5 καὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἐφεσίων· [τούτοις δὲ τὸν δῆμον χειροτονῆσαι]
 [θ]εωροδόκον ἐξ Ἀθηναίων ἀπάντ[ων· ἐπαινέσαι δὲ τὸν δῆμον τὸν]
 [Ἐφ]εσίων καὶ στεφαν[ῶ]σαι χρυσῶι στεφάνωι [κατὰ τὸν νόμον εὖσεβεί]
 [α]ς ἔνεκα τῆς πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ εὐνοίας τῆς εἰς τ[ὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθη]
 ναίων καὶ τὸν βασιλέα Πτολεμαῖον καὶ ἀνειπεῖν τὸν [στέφανον]
 10 τούτον Διονυσίων τῶν ἐν ἄστει καινοῖς τραγωιδοῖς καὶ Πανα[θη]
 ναί[ω]ν καὶ Ἑλευσινίων καὶ Πτολεμαίων τοῖς γυμνικοῖς ἀγῶσιν·
 [τῆς δὲ] ποιήσεως τοῦ στεφάνου καὶ τῆς ἀναγορεύσεως ἐπιμελ[η]
 [θῆναι] τοὺς στρατηγοὺς κα[ὶ τὸ]ν ταμίαν τῶν στρατιωτικῶν·^{rvv}
 [ἐπαιν]έσαι δὲ καὶ ¹⁰⁸ τοὺς παραγεγονότας πρεσβευτὰς παρ' Ἐφεσίων
 15 [καὶ στ]εφανῶσαι ἕκαστον αὐτῶν θαλλοῦ στεφάνωι Δ<ι>ον<υ>σικλῆν
 [Διον]υσικλέους·^v Νικοφῶντα Χαριδήμου·^v [Πάν]ταινον Τεισιδήμου·
 [καλ]έσαι δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐπὶ δεῖπνον εἰς τὸ πρυτανεῖον εἰς αὔριον·
 [ἀνα]γράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν γραμματέα τὸν κατὰ πρυτα[ν]εῖ
 [αν] ἐν στήλει λιθίνει καὶ στήσαι ἐν ἀγορᾷ παρὰ τὸμ ¹⁰⁹ βωμὸν τῆς Ἀρτέμι
 20 [δ]ος Βουλαίας· εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν καὶ τὴν ἀνάθεσιν τῆς στή^v
 λης μερίσαι τὸν ταμίαν τῶν στρατιωτικῶν καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τεί διοικῆ
 σει τὸ γενόμενον ἀνάλωμα. vacat

vacat

θεωροδόκος κεχειροτόνηται Πρ[α]ξι[τέ]λης Τιμάρχου Εἰρεσίδης

In corona

- 25 ἡ βουλή
 ὁ δῆμος
 [τὸν δ]ῆμον τὸν
 [Ἐφε]σίων

- | | | | |
|----|-----------------|-------------|---------------|
| | [ἡ βουλή] | [ἡ βουλή] | [ἡ β]ουλή |
| | [ὁ δῆμος] | [ὁ δῆμος] | [ὁ] δῆμος |
| 30 | [Διονυσικλῆν] | [Νικοφῶντα] | [Π]άνταιν[ον] |
| | [Διονυσικλέους] | [Χαριδήμου] | Τ[ε]σιδ[ήμον] |

¹⁰⁸ καί was inadvertently omitted by both Crosby and Robert.

¹⁰⁹ Previous readings give, incorrectly, τόν.

It is epigraphically possible to restore in line 5: *καὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἐφεσίων [καὶ τὸν βασιλέα Πτολεμαῖον· ἐλέσθαι δὲ]*. One may argue in favor of this version the fact that Athens praised Ephesos for her good will toward Ptolemy (line 9) and that in the exchange of compliments it would be natural to find Ephesos praising Athens for the same reason. But the phrase *καὶ τὸν βασιλέα Πτολεμαῖον* leaves so little room that *ἐλέσθαι* must be supplied instead of *χειροτονῆσαι*, which seems slightly preferable in view of the fact that the theorodokos was elected by show of hands (*κεχειροτόνηται* in line 23), and that there is no place to name the subject of the verb (*ἐλέσθαι* or *χειροτονῆσαι*) or to specify for whom the theorodokos was chosen. In the Parian decree, for example, in which Paros acknowledged and accepted the invitation to the Magnesian festival of Artemis Leukophryene,¹¹⁰ provision was made both for whom and by whom the theorodokos was to be selected (lines 49-51): *ἐλ[έσ]θαι δὲ τὸν πρό[ε]δρον καὶ θεωροδόκον, ὅστις θεωροδ[οκή]σει τοῖς ἐπαγγέλλουσιν τὸν ἀγῶνα τοῦτ[ο]ν*; and at the end of the inscription (lines 74-75) the verb of selection *ἐλ[έσ]θαι* was repeated in the historical record: *[θε]ωρο[δόκος ἦρ]έθη Ἀλέξανδρος Νεο[κύ]δου*. In the Ithakan response to Magnesia¹¹¹ the subject of *ἐλέσθαι* is not given, for it is the same as the subject of the preceding clause—which is not the case in our present text. The purpose of the election, however, is again specified (lines 22-23): *ἐλέσθαι δὲ καὶ θεωροδόκον τὸν ὑποδεξόμενον τὰς ἀεὶ παραγινομένα[ς] θεωρίας παρὰ τῶν Μαγνήτων*. The restoration suggested above for line 5 is designed to answer the questions “for whom?” and “by whom?” in the election of the theorodokos, and to introduce the verb which later appears in the historical record.

One does not know how much of the decree still is lost, but the lost portion must be considerable, including the preamble, the motivation, the formula of resolution, and at least one clause—possibly more—of the motions adopted.

A DELIAN INVENTORY

11. The three fragments published in *Hesperia*, III, 1934, no. 39, as part of an inventory were soon identified by Pierre Roussel as the Athenian publication of one of the Delian records.¹¹² In particular, lines 17-28 of the Agora text were shown by him to correspond to a passage in one of the Delian inventories of the archonship of Phaidrias¹¹³ which in its continuation also covered the items of the Agora text of lines 9-15. Numerous other observations made by Roussel have been incorporated in the new text now given here. Lines 1-8 seem to have been inscribed near the top of the stone, for it is probable that an original upper edge is preserved not far above

¹¹⁰ *S.I.G.*, 562.

¹¹¹ *S.I.G.*, 558.

¹¹² *B.C.H.*, LVIII, 1934, pp. 96-100. The same identification was made by Tod and Woodward, who kindly sent suggestions as to readings and interpretation.

¹¹³ Now published as *Inscriptions de Délos*, 1432.

line 1. Now a new fragment may be added to the original three, probably to be assigned a position between line 8 and the text of the other two fragments, because it corresponds in a considerable degree with another Delian record most fully preserved as *Inscriptions de Délos*, 442. This correspondence gives the first indication of the probable length of line in the Agora text. Lines 5-12 of *Inscr. Délos*, 442 B, are similar in content to the lines here published as 17-25, and if restorations are taken from them for the Agora fragment the length of the line must have been approximately 115 letters.

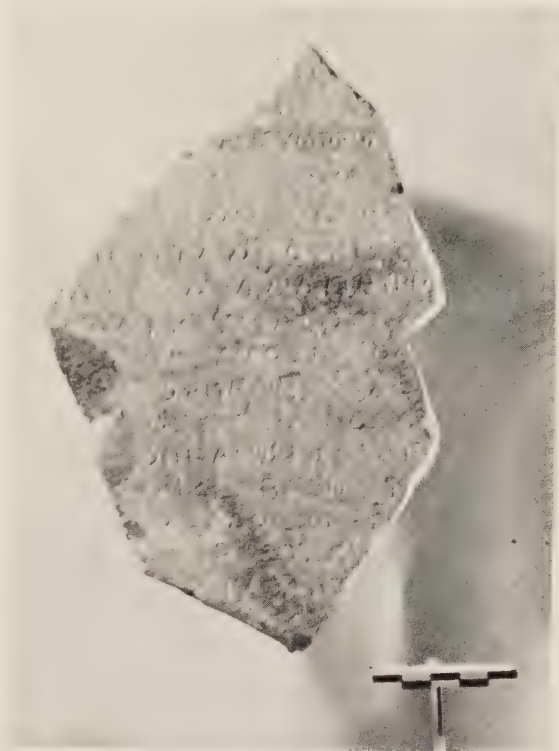
Fragment of Hymettian marble, broken on all sides, found north of the Acropolis on June 19, 1937.

Height, 0.21 m.; width, 0.145 m.; thickness, 0.085 m.

Height of letters, ca. 0.006 m.

Inv. No. I 94b.

The new fragment is given the designation *b* in the text below, and a photograph is published here. The other fragments (*a*, *c*, and *d*) are figured in *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 52.



No. 11, Frag. *b*

ca. 166 B.C.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. ca. 115

a [-----]αι Μνήσιος γι.ο[-----]
 [-----]ιῶνος Εὐτυχε[ίων -----]
 [----- ἐπ' ἄρχοντος Δη[-----]
 [-----]ΧΗΗΗΗΠΔ[-----·-]
 5 [----- Θυε]σταδῶν κ[αὶ Ὀκυνειδῶν --]
 [-----]Π· φιάλαι ἐ[φ' ὧν ---]
 [----- Γλα]υκυρίου κ[-----]
 [----- Εὐτυ]χείων [-----]
 [-----] [-----]

lacuna

10 -----
b [-----]ιη[-----]

- [-----]μενα ![-----]
 [-----] ἀργ] υραῖ συμπεπλη] [ρωμέναι --]
 [-----] ἐξ ἀριστερᾶς [-----]
 15 [-----]αν ἔχων ὑπὲρ ῥα[-----]
 [-----] κ]αὶ ἐπὶ τὰ ὦν ὀλκὴ ΔΤ[-----]
 [--- ὀλκὴ σὺν τ]ῶι κίρκωι ΔΔΔΠΤΙΙΙ [· στεφάνια χρυσᾶ ΙΙΙ ἃ ἀνέθηκεν βασίλισσα
 Στρατονίκη ταῖς Χάρισιν, τὸ ἐν οὐκ ἔχον κίρκους οὐδὲ δεσμούς,]
 [διαλελυμένον, ὀλκὴ] ΠΔΙΙΙ· χύμα τὸ ἀπὸ [τοῦ ἀγάλματος, ὀλκὴ ΠΔΔΔΔΠΤΤΤΙΙΙ·
 ἄλλο χύμα ἀπὸ τῶν τριῶν· ὀλκὴ ΔΔΠΤΤΤΙΙΙ· χρυσοῖ φιλίππειοι ΙΙΙ,
 ἀλεξάνδρειος Ι,]
 [ΠΔΠΤΤΤ νομίσματ]ος· ἡδυπότιον, ὀλ[κὴ ΔΔΔΔΠΤΤΤΤΙΙΙ· στέφανος χρυσοῦς
 δρυὸς ὃν ἀνέθηκεν Λύσανδρος, ὀλκὴ ΠΔΤΤΤΙΙΙ· στέφανος χρυ]
 20 [σοῦς κίσσινος ὃν ἃ]νέθηκεν βασιλε[ὺς Πτολεμαῖος, διαλελυμένος, καὶ κόρυμβοι Π,
 ὀλκὴ ΗΠΤΤ· στέφανος χρυσοῦς δάφνης ὃν ἀνέθηκεν βασιλεὺς Δη]
 [μήτριος, ὀλκὴ ΠΔΔΤΙΙΙ· ἄλ]λος στέφανος δ[άφνης ὃν ἀνέθηκεν Πολύκλειτος, ὀλκὴ
 ΠΤΙΙΙΙ· ἄλλος στέφανος δάφνης ὃν ἀνέθηκεν Φιλοκλῆς, ὀλκὴ ΠΔΔΠΤΤΤΙΙΙ·
 ἄλλος]
 [στέφανος κισσοῦ ὃν ἀνέ]θηκαν Δηλιάδε[ς, καὶ κόρυμβοι ΙΙΙ κατεαγότες, ὀλκὴ ΠΔΔΤ·
 ἄλλος στέφανος μυρσίνης ὃν Ἰώμιλος ἀνέθηκεν, ὀλκὴ ΔΔΤΙΙΙ· ἄλλος]
 [στέφανος δάφνης ὃν ἀν]έθηκεν βασιλεὺς[ς Ἀντίγονος, ὀλκὴ ΠΔΤ· λειμώνιον χρυ-
 σοῦν ὃ ἀνέθηκεν Σόλων, ὀλκὴ ΠΔΔΔΠΤΤΤ· ἄλλος στέφανος δάφνης
 ὃν ἀνέθηκεν]
 [βασιλεὺς Ἀντίγονος, ὀλκὴ Δ]ΔΠ· ἄλλος στέφ[ανος δάφνης ὃν ἀνέθηκεν Ἀν-
 τίπατρος, ὀλκὴ ΔΔΔΠΤΤΤΤΤΙΙΙ· ἄλλος στέφανος δάφνης ἀνεπίγραφος,
 ὀλκὴ ΔΔΔΠΤΤ· ἄλλος]
 25 [στέφανος δάφνης ὃν ἀνέθηκε]ν Φάραξ οὐ θαυ[-----]
 [-----] βασι[λεὺς Ἀντ]ίγονος [-----]

lacuna

- c -----
 [-----] Τελε[σαρχίδο]ν [-----]
 30 [-----] ε]ῖκοσιν ἐπὶ το[ῦ -----]
 [-----] ὅπισθε τοῦ κρατ[ήρος --]
 [-----] ἄλλη ἥι τὸ γάμμ[α ---]
 [-----] δραχ· ΗΗ· ἄλλαι εἴκο[σιν --]
 [-----]ς Νικίου ταμιῶν [-----]
 35 [-----] δραχ· ΧΧ· ἄλλα[ι εἴκοσιν --]
 [-----] δ]ραχ· ΗΗΗΗ· σκάφ[ια δύο -----]
 [-----] βουλῆς ἐφ' οὗ τ[ὸ -----]
 [-----]ι Τελεσικρά[του -----]
 [-----] ΔΔΔΔΠ· φιά[λη ἐφ' ἧς τὸ ὕ --]

- 40 [----- Θνεστα]δῶν καὶ [᾽Ωκυνειδῶν -----]
 [-----]ιας [-----]

lacuna
- d -----
 [----- φιά|λη ἐφ' ἧς |-----]
 45 [-----] φιάλη ἐφ' ἧς [-----]
 [--- ἄλλαι εἴκοσιν ἐφ' ὧν] τὰ δύο νῦ· ταμ[ιῶν? ---]
 [----- ἀνάθημα Δηλιάδ]ων, χορεῖα ἐπι[δόντος ---]
 [-----] ἐφ' ἧς τὰ δύο ῥ[ῶ ---]
 [--- ποτήριον σ]τησίλειον β[ουλῆς ---]
 50 [----- ἐφ' ἧς τὰ δ]ύο φεί φ[ν ὀλκῇ ---]

For the anomalous association of singular and plural relative pronouns in line 50, cf. *Inscr. Délos*, 1432, line 77: ἄλλην ἐφ' ἧς τὰ ΦΦ, ὧν ὀλκῇ δραχ---. Roussel, *op. cit.*, p. 99, note 7, suggests as possible the restoration of line 3 with the name of the archon Demares, whom he dates in 179 B.C. His date for the inscription (*B.C.H.*, LVIII, 1934, p. 100) is "vers 166," and in *Inscr. Délos*, commentary on no. 1432 (p. 121), he expresses the opinion that the Agora fragments represent the oldest grouping of these silver vases known from the second period of Athenian domination. However, lines 16-25 of the new fragment represent a grouping of other objects that dates back at least to the beginning of the second century (cf. *Inscr. Délos*, 380, lines 5-11; 385, lines 5-21).

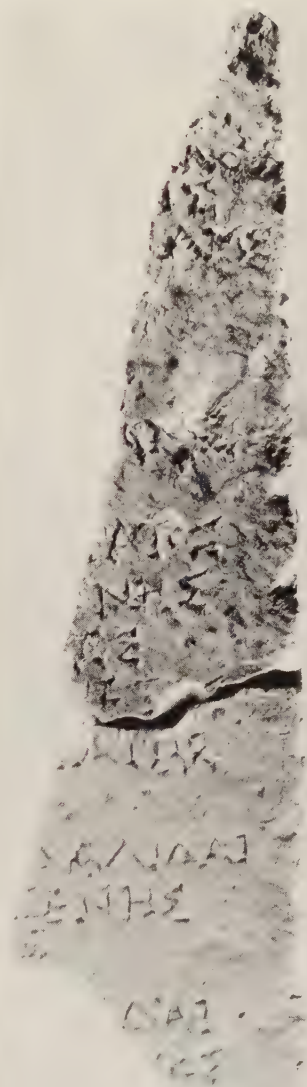
THE PRYTANEIS OF KEKROPIS

12. Three fragments of a decree honoring the prytaneis of Kekropis were published by Dow in *Hesperia*, Suppl. I (1937), pp. 156-158, no. 89. To these a fourth may now be added, joining directly above Dow's fragment B. Its right edge is preserved, but it is broken on all other sides. It was found in the cellar of a modern house in Section II on June 18, 1935.

Height, 0.195 m.; width, 0.065 m.; thickness, 0.04 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.01 m.

Inv. No. I 3046.



No. 12.

ca. 128 B.C.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. ca. 65

- 1 [. εἰς στήλην] λι[θίνην καὶ στήσαι ἐν τῷ πρυτανικῷ· τὸ δὲ γενόμενον εἰς αὐτὴν]
 [ἀνάλωμα μερ]ίσαι τ[ὸν ταμίαν τῶν στρατιωτικῶν *vacat*]
 [ἡ βου]λὴ τὸν τ[αμίαν] [ὁ δῆμος] [ἡ βουλὴ τὸν γραμματέα]
 In an olive crown [In an olive crown] [In an olive crown]
 [M]νάσωνα [τοὺς] [---]
 5 |---|μιο|---| |πρυτάνεις| |-----|
 [---] [-----]

lacuna

- [----- καὶ στεφανῶσαι τούτων ἕκαστον θαλ]λοῦ
 [στεφάνωι· ἀναγράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν γραμματέα τὸν κατὰ πρυτανείαν ε]ἰς
 [στήλην λιθίνην καὶ στήσαι ἐν τῷ πρυτανικῷ· τὸ δὲ γενόμενον εἰς αὐτὴν ἀνάλωμ]α με
 10 [ρίσαι τὸν ταμίαν τῶν στρατιωτικῶν *vacat*]

Two lines uninscribed

I	II	III	IV
[-----]	[-----]	[-----]	[Ξυπεται]όνες
[-----]	[-----]	[-----]	[-----]
15 [-----]	30 [-----]	45 [-----]	60 [-----]ρατος
[-----]	[-----]	[-----]	[-----]ένης
[-----]	[-----]	[-----]	[-----]ης
[-----]	[-----]	[-----]	[-----]ρετος
[-----]	[-----]	[-----]	[-----]κ ράτης
20 [-----]	35 [-----]	50 [-----]	65 [-----]
[-----]	[-----]	[-----]	[Δαι]δαλίδαι
[-----]	[-----]	[-----]	[---]γένης
[-----]	[-----]	[-----]	[---]ς
[-----]ος	[-----]	[-----]	[Ἐπιεικ]ίδαι
25 [-----]	40 Κρίτω[ν]	55 [-----]	70 [-----]χος
[-----]	Δημήτ[ριος]	[-----]	[-----]
[-----]	Αἰσχρ ---	[-----]	[vacat]

One line uninscribed

- [ἡ βο]υλή 80 τὸν γραμμ[α]
 75 [τὸν τα]μίαν τῆς τέα τοῦ δ[ήμου]
 [βου]λῆς
 In an olive crown In an olive crown
 [-----]νη [-----]
 |-----| |-----|
 |-----| |-----|

The remaining
 four citations
 are lost

The new fragment preserves the ends of three lines of the so-called "second" decree. These can be restored from well-known formulae and so they determine within limits the original width of the stone. It is impossible to give exact figures, but one is on fairly safe ground in positing a line of about 65 letters and a width of stone of about 0.60 m. The lines which make these determinations possible are numbered in our text from 7 to 10. In lines 8-9 the phrase [ε]ἰς [στήλην λιθίνην] instead of the more usual ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ has its parallel in *I.G.*, II², 1004, line 16, which is of approximately the same date (122/1) as the present inscription. In line 9 also the phraseology is similar to that of *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, no. 96, line 9, which is dated in 104/3.

A knowledge of the approximate width of the stone makes other determinations possible. It can be computed from the remains of names in the last column of the catalogue that its width was about 0.15 m. This means that the catalogue itself had four columns. A complete list of the prytaneis of Kekropis toward the end of the second century would comprise about 59 lines, for there would have to be room for the 50 councillors and, if all demes were represented, for 9 demotics. The demotics to be expected are: Αἰξωνεῖς, Ἀλαιεῖς, Δαιδαλίδαι, Ἐπιεικίδαι, Μελιτεῖς, Ξυπεταιόνες, Πιθείς, Συπαλήττιοι, and Τρινεμεεῖς.¹¹⁴ Of these [Ξυπεται]όνες, [Δαι]δαλίδαι, and [Ἐπιεικ]ίδαι now appear in column IV (lines 58, 66, 69). If the probable 59 lines of the catalogue were divided as evenly as possible among the four columns, one may assume that there were 15 lines in each of the first three columns and 14 lines in column IV. It is evident from this calculation that parts of nearly all the lines in column IV have been preserved. Xypete is represented with 7 names, Daidalidai is represented by 2 names, and Epieikidai is represented by 1 name. In Dow's publication¹¹⁵ it is assumed that there were two demesmen from Epieikidai. I make the same assumption here, and so keep the full roster of column IV with 14 lines of text. Presumably the fifteenth line was uninscribed.

The piece which Dow (*loc. cit.*) has published as fragment A contains the last lines of two columns of the catalogue and parts of two of the citations which followed. Enough is preserved so that one can measure the distance from center to center of the two citations. It amounts to about 0.095 m. It is obvious therefore that the six citations which followed the catalogue in a normal text were all arranged in one row at the bottom of this inscription. Though precise measurement is not to be expected, it is apparent, I believe, that the six citations represent again approximately the calculated 0.60 m. width of the stone. Furthermore the face of one of the preserved columns of names falls precisely on a line with the center of one of the wreaths of the citations below it. This arrangement is possible, in view of the fact that there were four columns and six citations, either for the face of column II or for the face of

¹¹⁴ The deme Kikynna never belonged to Kekropis. See Dow, *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 188.

¹¹⁵ *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, p. 157.

column IV. The line of column II projected downward would bisect the second citation and the line of column IV projected downward would bisect the fifth citation. It follows therefore that the names preserved, in large part, of fragment A belong either to column II or column IV of the catalogue. They cannot belong to column IV, because if they did one would have to supply below the preserved remains of that column where the right margin is preserved another demotic together with the three names of fragment A. This would extend column IV to a minimum of 17 lines and destroy the symmetrical composition of the list. We therefore place fragment A in our reconstructed text so that its names fall in columns I and II (lines 24 and 40-42). The citations below the catalogue name first the Treasurer of the Council. This officer usually came last in the sequence of citations, so his position here is anomalous.¹¹⁶

Dow published fragment C with a note that the wording of its first two lines was puzzling. But these two lines must belong to the end of the "first" decree, for the citation immediately below them is for the Treasurer of the Prytaneis. These lines can in fact be restored with the usual formulae as is indicated in lines 1-2 above. I note also that the name of the Treasurer (line 4) should be Mnason. In line 70 I read the letter at the fractured edge of the stone either as upsilon or chi, rather than as nu (as by Dow), and so restore [-----]χος.

GRAVE MONUMENT

13. Fragment of Pentelic marble found on June 15, 1938, in Section Ω. The right side (smoothly-dressed) and bottom are preserved.

Height, 0.17 m.; width, 0.20 m.;
thickness, 0.095 m.

Height of letters, 0.015 m.-0.02 m.

Inv. No. I 5542.

ca. 100 B.C. (?)

|-----|
|-----|ζου
|Ἀφιδν|αίου
|θυγ|άτηρ
5 |Στρ|άτωνος
|Ἀφι|δναίου
|γυν|ή



No. 13.

¹¹⁶ See Dow's comment, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

A SCULPTURED RELIEF

14. Fragment of a sculptured relief of Pentelic marble, with part of the rough-picked back and the smooth bottom preserved, found in the cellar of a modern house in Section ΣΤ on February 4, 1932.

Height, 0.27 m.; width, 0.31 m.; thickness, 0.085 m.

Height of letters, 0.01 m.-0.015 m.

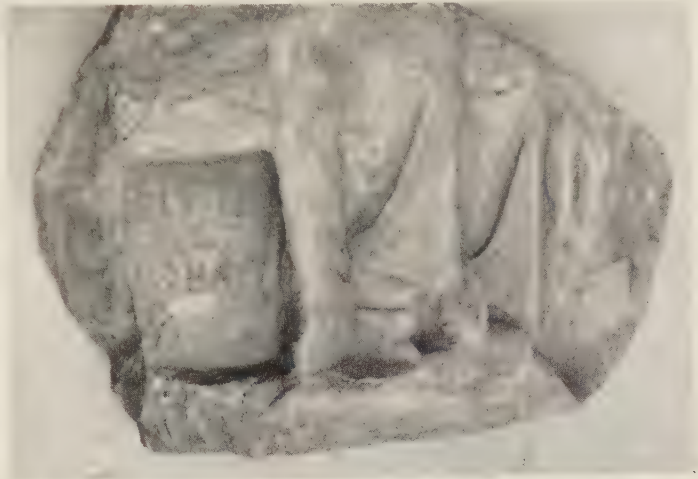
Inv. No. I 132.

First Century B.C.

Νεικί

as

Ἔρχε(ιεύς?)



No. 14.

The relief represents a chair, facing right, with a seated figure whose foot rests upon a stool. Part of the drapery falls back slightly between the front legs of the chair. At the right is the lower part of a standing figure. The inscription is cut against the background beneath the chair, and seems to be complete in three lines: Νεικί|as | Ἔρχε. I interpret Ἔρχε as an abbreviated form of the demotic Ἔρχειεύς, a misspelling or perhaps a variant (otherwise unattested) of Ἔρχιεύς. Harpokration cites a topical form Ἔρχείαθεν from Deinarchos' speech *κατὰ Στεφάνου*, but the supplement Ἔρχε(ίαθεν) would seem to me less likely than Ἔρχε(ιεύς).¹¹⁷

The records of the excavation describe the relief as part of a funeral stele. Such reliefs were rare in early Hellenistic Athens, and became common again only after the law of Demetrios of Phaleron against expensive grave monuments had lost its effectiveness. Some sculptured grave stelai of the second century have been preserved, but complete freedom of choice in the use of funeral monuments was not recovered until the beginning of the Empire.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁷ A misspelling Ἔρχ<ι>ε(ύς) is also a possibility.

¹¹⁸ See J. Kirchner, "Das Gesetz des Demetrios von Phaleron zur Einschränkung des Gräberluxus," *Die Antike*, XV, 1939, pp. 93-97.

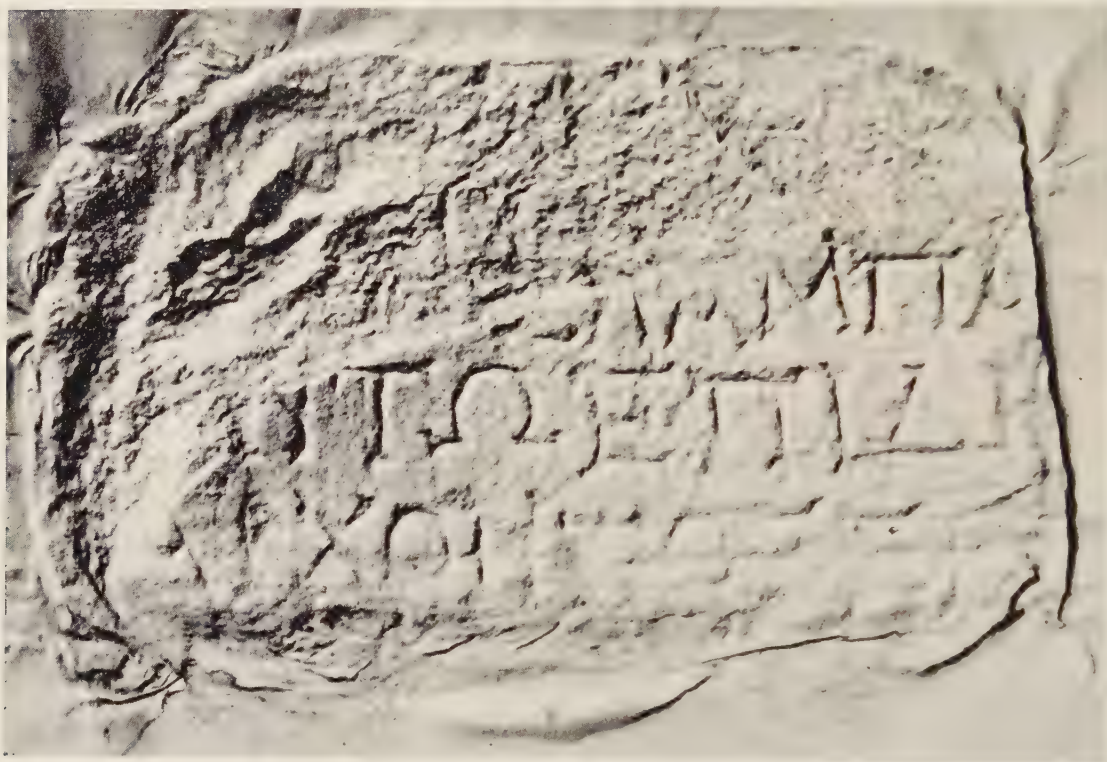
A DEDICATION

15. Fragment from the left side of a block of Pentelic marble, found near Hephaistos St. outside the excavations on June 30, 1931.

Height, 0.095 m.; width, 0.159 m.; thickness, 0.20 m.

Height of letters, 0.015 m.

Inv. No. I 123.



No. 15.

The under surface is broken away, but the top is original though not carefully finished. In the top near the right edge is a circular socket *ca.* 0.05 m. in diameter and about 0.10 m. back from the front edge. The restorations indicate that this cutting was approximately in the center of the block. The inscription is cut on the face of a large drip moulding, and above it is a taenia *ca.* 0.02 m. high. The left side of the block is carefully smoothed.

49/8 B.C. (?)

|-----|
 [—³ or ⁴—]ς λαμπα[δαρχήσας]
 [ἐ]ν τῷ ἐπὶ Δη[μοχάρους]
 ἄρχοντος ἐν[ιαυτῷ —]

The inscription is a dedication of Roman date, possibly similar to that already known from *I.G.*, II², 2994: [----] Ἀχαρνὲς λαμπαδα[ρ]χήσας ἐν τῷ ἐπὶ Μενάνδρου ἄρχοντος ἐνιαυτῷ Μούσαις ἀνέθηκεν. The name of the archon, Demochares, has been restored from Kirchner's table in *I.G.*, II², Pars IV, fasc. I, p. 25, though an earlier date within the century is not excluded. Kirchner lists an earlier Demochares in 78/7 and an archon Demetrios in 50/49, whose name also might be restored. A text from the Agora, as yet unpublished (Inv. No. I 2388), names also an archon Demetrios of 82 1.¹¹⁹

THE EMPEROR HADRIAN

16. Fragment of a small columnar monument, broken on all sides, found in the wall of a modern house in 1931.

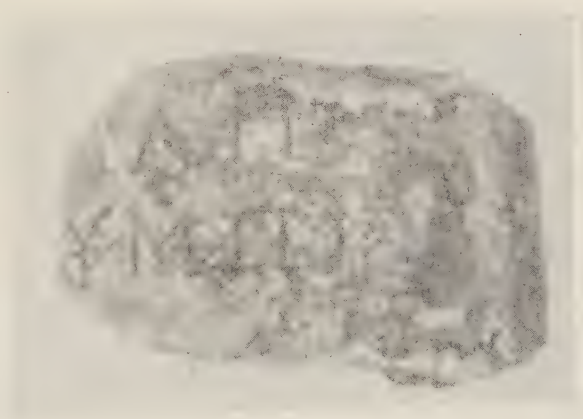
Height, 0.095 m.; width, 0.175 m.; thickness, 0.017 m.

Height of letters, 0.02 m.

Inv. No. I 109.

ca. 132 A.D.

[σωτήρι]
 [καὶ κτίστη]
 [αὐτοκράτορι]
 [Ἀδρ]ιανῷ
 5 [Ὀλ]υμπίῳ



No. 16.

For similar dedications see *I.G.*, II², 3324 ff.

¹¹⁹ Cf. Shear, *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 42; Dinsmoor, *The Athenian Archon List* (1939), p. 204.

INSCRIBED HERM

17. Part of a herm of Pentelic marble, with the right edge preserved, found on June 9, 1931, in Section E.

Height, 0.21 m.; width, 0.19 m.; thickness, 0.079 m.

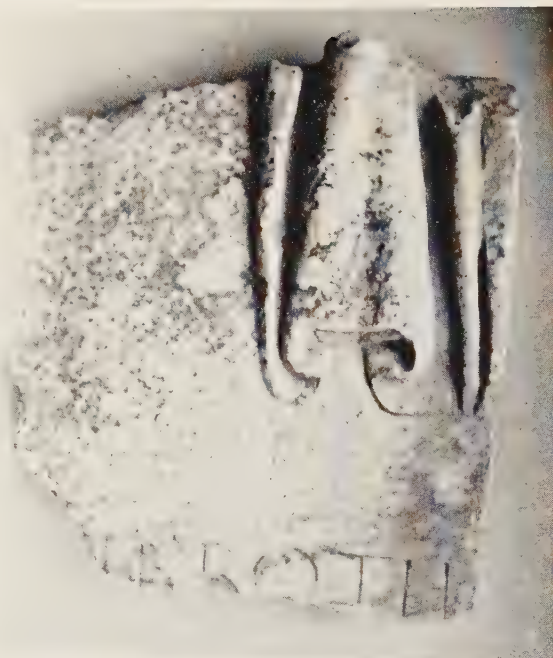
Height of letters, 0.01 m. in line 1, 0.022 m. in line 2.

Inv. No. I 22.

ca. 150 A.D.

[ἀγαθῇ] τύχῃ
[κατὰ τὸ ἐ]περώτη
[μα -----]

For the formula of lines 2-3 see, for example, *I.G.*, II², 3635, 3637, 3638, 3669.



No. 17.

A GRAVE MONUMENT

18. The text published by Kirchner as *I.G.*, II², 7601 is made up of three fragments from the Agora (Inv. Nos. I 1181 + 34 + 30). The larger fragment was found in the wall of a modern house in Section A on January 8, 1934. The two smaller pieces were found in Section E in June of 1931. Overall dimensions are: height, 0.185 m.; width, 0.61 m.; thickness, 0.25 m.



No. 18. The photograph does not show all that is preserved at the right, where the stone is broken beyond the letter E.

The two names on the small epistyle are (a) Διονύσιος { } Ἀγα|θοκλέους Φαληρεύς and (b) Ἀρτε[μ — — — Δι|ο]νυσ[ίου Φαληρεύς]. Presumably Artem — — — was the son of the elder Dionysios, and both are descendants of that Agathokles of Phaleron who flourished *ca.* 130 B.C. Cf. Kirchner, *P.A.*, no. 76.

The size of letters on the fragment at the right suggests that this falls near the middle of the pediment and that a third name (balancing Διονύσιος) once stood near the original right-hand side of the monument.

A GRAVE MONUMENT

19. Part of a plaque of Pentelic marble, found on July 18, 1931, in Section E. The top and left side are preserved (badly worn), and both faces are carefully finished. The stone is broken at the right and bottom.

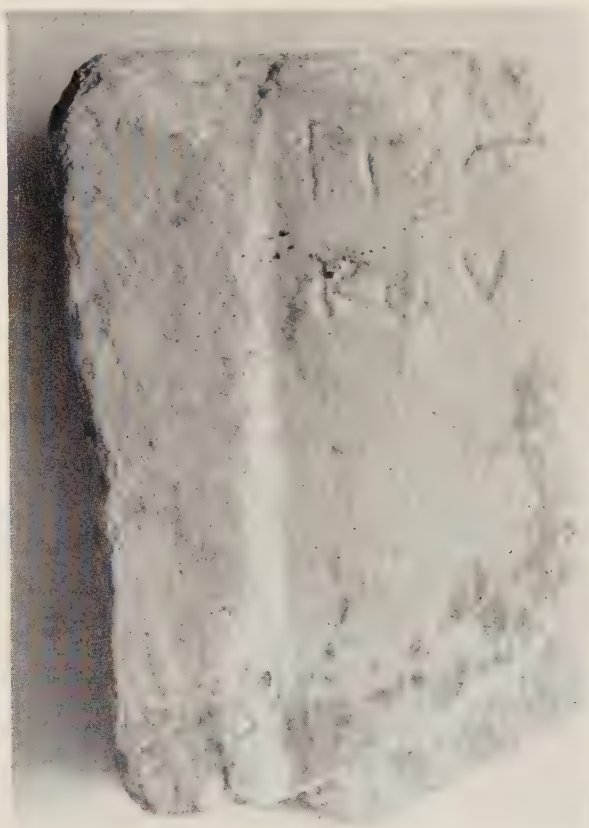
Height, 0.207 m.; width, 0.14 m.;
thickness, 0.062 m.

Height of letters, 0.015 m.

Inv. No. I 71.

† Γ λ α [ύ]
κ ο υ

Evidently the plaque was used as
a Christian tombstone.



No. 19.

CORRECTIONS

20. In the inscription published as no. 20 in *Hesperia*, III, 1934, the text of lines 2-3 should read as follows:

[Ἐπὶ Ἑρά]στου ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς Λεωντίδος ὀγδόης πρυτανείας ἡ Δη
[μή]τριος] Ξ[έ]νωνος Ἐπικηφίστιος ἐγραμμάτευεν· Ἀνθεστηριῶνος]

The number of the prytany and the final nu of ἐγραμμάτευεν were inadvertently omitted in the earlier publication.

21. Professor A. M. Woodward has kindly communicated improvements in the text of *Hesperia*, III, 1934, no. 38. In lines 2-3 the word to be restored is [ἐπ]εγέ[γραπτο], in lines 8-9 ἐπε[γέγραπτο], and in lines 13-14 [ἐπε]γέγρ[απτο]. Cf. *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 51.

BENJAMIN D. MERITT

INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

EPIGRAPHICAL INDEX

NAMES OF MEN AND WOMEN

- [Ἀγαθοκλῆς], archon in 357/6, 230 (3 1)
 Ἀγαθοκλῆς (Φαληρεὺς), *ca.* 130 B.C., father of
 Διονύσιος, 265 (18)
 [Ἀδρ]ιανὸς [Ὀλ]ύμπιος, *ca.* 132 A.D., 263 (16 4-5)
 Αἰσχρ[—], councillor of Kekropis *ca.* 128 B.C.,
 258 (12 42)
 [Ἀντίπατρος], a Macedonian but not the regent,
 256 (11 24)
 [Ἀντίγονος], Antigonos I, 256 (11 23); [Ἀ.],
 256 (11 24); Ἀντ[ίγονος], 256 (11 25)
 Ἀρ[ιστομένης], *ca.* 357/6, non-Athenian, 230
 (3 6-7); [Ἀρι]στομένης, 230 (3 22)
 Ἀρτε[μ— Διο]νυσ[ίου Φαληρεὺς], *ca.* 67 B.C.,
 265 (18)
 [Ἀρχέδικος Ναυκρίτου Λαμπ]τρεύς, anagrapheus
 in 320/19, 234 (6 2-3)
 Γλα[ῦ]κος, on a Christian tombstone, 265 (19)
 [Γλα]υκίριος, Delian official before 166 B.C.,
 255 (11 7)
 Δη[—], possibly the Delian archon Demares
 of 179 B.C., 255 (11 3); see also 257
 Δημάδης Δη[μέων Παιανιεύς], orator in 320/19,
 234 (6 8-9); Δημ[άδης] (Π.), father of Δη-
 μέας, 232 (5 3-4)
 Δη[μέας] (Παιανιεύς), *ca.* 353 B.C., father of
 Δημάδης, 234 (6 8-9)
 Δημέας Δημ[άδων Παιανιεύς], orator *ca.* 321/0,
 232 (5 3-4)
 [Δημήτριος], Demetrios Poliorketes, 256 (11 20-
 21)
 Δημήτ[ριος], councillor of Kekropis *ca.* 128 B.C.,
 258 (12 41)
 Δη[μή]τριος Ξ[έ]νωνος Ἐπικηφίστιος, secretary
 in 163/2, 266 (20)
 Δη[μοχάρης], archon in 49/8 (?), 263 (15 3)
 [Διόδοτος Διοκλέους Ἀ]ν[γελή]θεν, secretary in
 357/6, 230 (3 3-4)
 [Διοκλῆς] (Ἀγγελῆθεν), *ca.* 390 B.C., father of
 [Διόδοτος], 230 (3 3-4)
 Διονυ—, *ca.* 333 B.C., father of [Δ]ιόφαντος,
 244 (8 9)
 [Διονυ]σικλῆς, *ca.* 253 B.C., father of Δ<ι>ον<ν>-
 σικλῆς, 253 15-16; [Δ.], father of [Δ.], 253 31
 Δ<ι>ον<ν>σικλῆς [Διονυ]σικλέους, ambassador
 from Ephesos *ca.* 220 B.C., 253 15-16; [Δ. Δ.],
 253 30-31
 Διονύσιος Ἀγαθοκλέους Φαληρεὺς, *ca.* 100 B.C., 265
 (18); [Διο]νύσιος (Φ.), father of Ἀρ-
 τε[μ—], 265 (18)
 [Δ]ιόφαντος Διονυ—, sitophylax (?) of the
 city *ca.* 300 B.C., 244 (8 9)
 Ε[.....¹⁷..... Κ]ηφισιεύς, sitophylax
 (?) of the city *ca.* 300 B.C., 244 (8 7-8)
 [Ἐρα]στος, archon in 163/2, 266 (20)
 Ἐϋφρος (Ἀυρίδης), *ca.* 333 B.C., father of
 [—]s, 244 (8 11-12)
 Εὐφρ[—], *ca.* 333 B.C., father of [—]νό-
 στρατος, 244 (8 10)
 [Ἴ]οφῶν Στει[ρ(ιεύς)], chairman of the proedroi
 in 320/19, 234 (6 7)
 [Ἴ]π(π)όστ[ρατος], on a funeral pillar of the
 late sixth century B.C., 210 (1)
 [Ἰώμικος], of Carthage, 256 (11 22)
 [Λύσανδρος], the well-known Spartan admiral,
 256 (11 19)
 Μικαλίων Φίλωνος Ἀλεξ[ανδρ{ε}εύς], honored as a
 proxenos and benefactor *ca.* 300 B.C., 242
 (7 6); [Μ.], 242 (7 10)
 [Μ]νάσων [—]μο[—] (Kekropis), treasur-
 er of the prytaneis of Kekropis *ca.* 128 B.C.,
 258 (12 4-6)
 Μνήσις, Delian official before 166 B.C., 255 (11 1)

- [Μό]σχος (Πλαταιεύς), *ca.* 354 B.C., father of
T[...], 232 (5 4-5)
- [Ναύκριτος] (Λαμπρεύς), *ca.* 353 B.C., father of
[Ἀρχέδικος], 234 (6 3)
- [Νέαιχμος], archon in 320/19, 234 (6 2)
- Νεικίας Ἐρχε(ιεύς ?) or Ἐρχ(ι)ε(ύς), *ca.* 50 B.C.,
261 (14)
- Νικίας, Delian official before 166 B.C., 256 (11 34)
- [Νικόστρατος ---]λωνος Φιλ[ιππεύς?], honored
in 319 B.C., 234 (6 1); [Νι]κόστρατο[s], 234
(6 9)
- Νικοφῶν Χαριδήμον, ambassador from Ephesos
ca. 220 B.C., 253 16; [N. X.], 253 30-31
- Νίκων ---, sitophylax (?) of the city *ca.* 300
B.C., 244 (8 8)
- Ξ[έ]νων, (Ἐπικηφίσιος), *ca.* 196 B.C., father of
Δη[μή]τριος, 266 (20)
- [Πάν]ταινος Τεισιδήμον, ambassador from
Ephesos *ca.* 220 B.C., 253 16; [Π]άνταιν[ος]
T[ει]σιδ[ήμον], 253 30-31
- [Πολύκλειτος], admiral of Ptolemy, 256 (11 21)
- Πρ[α]ξι[τέ]λης Τιμάρχου Εἰρεσίδης, Athenian
theorodokos *ca.* 220 B.C., 253 23
- [Πτολεμαῖος], Ptolemy I, 256 (11 20)
- Πτολεμαῖος, Ptolemy IV, *ca.* 220 B.C., 253 9
- [Σέλευκος], Seleukos II, *ca.* 246 B.C., 246 (9 4)
- [Σόλων], probably a priest of Asklepios, 256
(11 23)
- [Στρατονίκη], Queen Stratonike I, 256 (11 17)
- [Στ]ράτων [Ἀφι]δναῖος, *ca.* 100 B.C. (?), 260
(13 5-6)
- Σωκρατίδης, archon in 371/0, 182 = *I.G.*, II²,
1424a (*Addenda*), line 50
- T[...]. Μό]σχον Πλαταιεύς, granted
Athenian citizenship *ca.* 321/0, 232 (5 4-5)
- Τεισιδήμος, *ca.* 253 B.C., father of [Πάν]ταινος,
253 16; T[ει]σιδ[ήμος], father of [Π]άν-
ταιν[ος], 253 31
- [Τελε]σάρχιδης, Delian official before 166 B.C.,
256 (11 29)
- Τελεσικρά[της], Delian official before 166 B.C.,
256 (11 38)
- Τίμαρχος (Εἰρεσίδης), *ca.* 253 B.C., father of
Πρ[α]ξι[τέ]λης, 253 23
- Τιμόδημος, on a gem of the fifth century B.C., 207
- Φάραξ, Spartan admiral, 256 (11 25)
- Φι[----], *ca.* 483 B.C., father of [---]οκλήs,
225
- [Φιλοκλήs], king of the Sidonians, 256 (11 21)
- Φίλων (Ἀλεξανδρεύς), *ca.* 333 B.C., father of
Μικαλίων, 242 (7 6)
- Χαριδήμος, *ca.* 253 B.C., father of Νικοφῶν, 253 16;
[X.], father of [N.], 253 31
- [...]νων Ὁθή(εν), secretary of the prytany of
Oineis in 320/19, 234 (6 4)
- [---]ατίδης, sculptor of one of the golden
Nikai, 208. Cf. IX 311 (28 2). If the
formula used by Woodward, Ἀρχ. Ἐφ., 1937,
p. 164, line 13, is followed the name becomes
[...]ατίδης
- [---]γένης (Δαιδαλίδης), councillor of Kekropis
ca. 128 B.C., 258 (12 67)
- [---]ένης (Ξυπεταιίων), councillor of Kekropis
ca. 128 B.C., 258 (12 61)
- [---]ης (Ξυπεταιίων), councillor of Kekropis
ca. 128 B.C., 258 (12 62)
- [---]κράτης (Ξυπεταιίων), councillor of Ke-
kropis *ca.* 128 B.C., 258 (12 64)
- [---]λων (Φιλιππεύς ?), *ca.* 353 B.C., father of
[Νικόστρατος], 234 (6 1)
- [---]γέτος (Ξυπεταιίων), councillor of Ke-
kropis *ca.* 128 B.C., 258 (12 63)
- [---]νόστρατος Εὐφρ[---], sitophylax (?) of
the city *ca.* 300 B.C., 244 (8 10)
- [---]οκλήs Φι[----], secretary *ca.* 450 B.C.,
225
- [---]ρατος (Ξυπεταιίων), councillor of Kekro-
pis *ca.* 128 B.C., 258 (12 60)
- [---]s Εὐφύρον Αἰρί[δης], sitophylax (?) of
the city *ca.* 300 B.C., 244 (8 11-12)
- [---]s (Δαιδαλίδης), councillor of Kekropis
ca. 128 B.C., 258 (12 68)
- [---]της (Ἀφιδναῖος), *ca.* 333 B.C., 244 (8 12)
- [---]χος (Ἐπεικίδης), councillor of Kekropis
ca. 128 B.C., 258 (12 70)

AION

Αἰὼν πάντα φέρει· δολιχὸς χρόνος οἶδεν ἀμείβειν
οὖνομα καὶ μορφὴν καὶ φύσιν ἡδὲ τύχην

(*Anth. Pal.*, IX, 51)

When the last campaign of the excavations carried out in Antioch-on-the-Orontes under the direction of Princeton University in the summer of 1939 was approaching

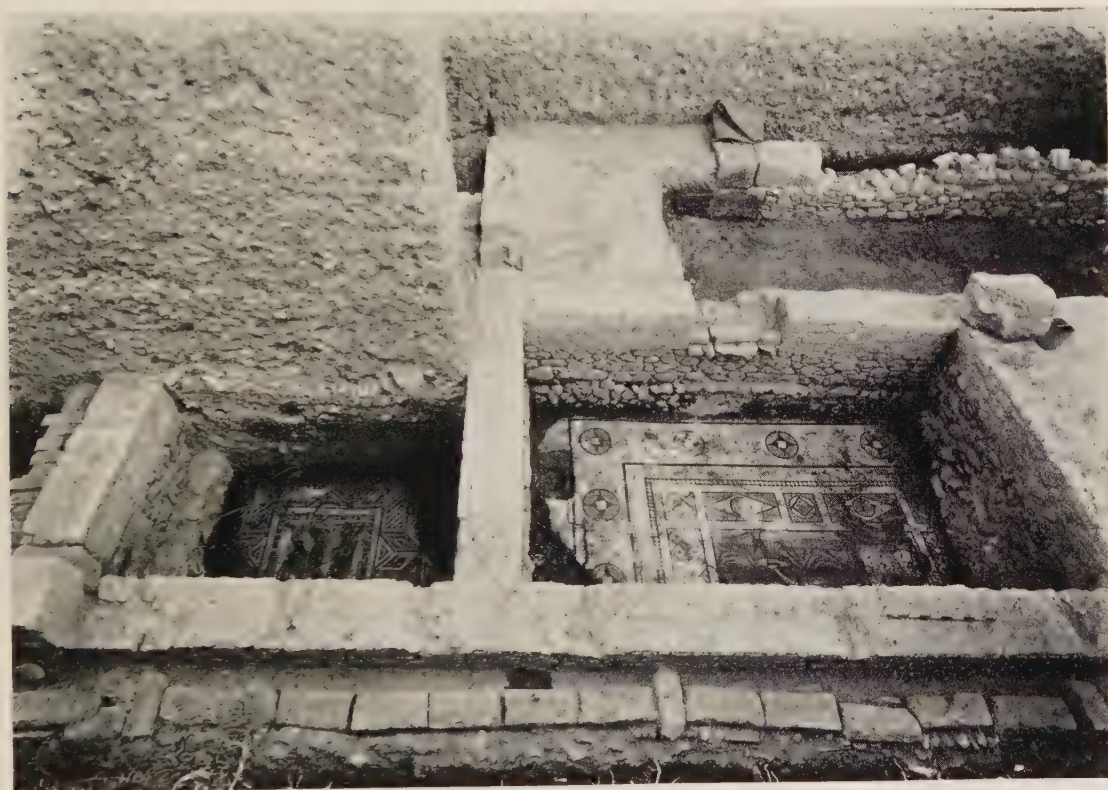


Fig. 1. The Excavation of the House of Aion at Antioch, on the Right the Mosaic of Aion and the Chronoi

its end, the ruins of a building came to light during the cutting of a long trench in the area within the Justinian walls in an effort to locate the main east-west street in the sector designated by 15-M (Fig. 1). The topographical purpose of this trial digging was not realized; but the corner of the house uncovered by it made known some mosaics of noteworthy importance. The ruins laid bare consist essentially of a

long colonnade, to a side of which a spacious semicircular exedra was annexed, both decorated with floor-mosaics. Some rooms were set in a line with the colonnade on the sides of the exedra. Two rooms were on the northeast side, and their mosaic pavements had been torn away. Trials executed beneath the level of the pavements of the latest building existing on this place revealed remains of the mosaics belonging to an



Fig. 2. Excavation View of the Pavement with the Mosaic of Aion and the Chronoi

earlier house, which had been cut by the walls of the later construction. These mosaics were left *in situ* and covered again when the exploration had to be suspended at the closing of the campaign.¹

The whole figured panel of the mosaic belonging to the room next to the exedra was brought to light during these works, and only a part of its border remained concealed under the walls of the later structure (Fig. 2). The *emblema* (Fig. 3) was in fact flanked by two panels with diaper-pattern; beneath these three panels, and probably above them as well, was a series of five small geometric panels, two square ones between three rectangular ones, containing circles, rhombs, and dotted crosses.

¹ *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, III (Princeton, 1941), pp. 11 f., fig. 10; Plan IV on p. 257; pp. 176 f., nos. 110-111, pls. 50-51.

Beyond a narrow cornice of small light diamonds on dark background, a second border, consisting of circles containing curvilinear rhombs with white squares in the center alternated with dotted crosses, reached the edge of the pavement. On stylistic grounds together with the character of this geometric decoration we assign the mosaic roughly to the middle of the third century after Christ.



Fig. 3. The *Emblema* of the Mosaic of Aion and the Chronoi

In the *emblema* four men are sitting at table, three forming a close group on the right, the fourth apart from the others on the left. The *kline* on the right seems to come to an end beyond the third figure, where a vertical line of red squares shows apparently the border of the reddish blanket falling from the solid corner of the couch downwards, in the same way as a similar horizontal line shows the lower hem of the stuff. At the same solid corner begins also one of the three series of folds, represented by concentric arched strokes, which depict the falling of the stuff on the front of the *kline*. Ordinarily, indeed, one couch would not hold more than three guests. Along the front-edge of the top of the *kline* a padded ring, in a darker red and with black shadows, has replaced, as was often the case, the single *pulvini*. The bodies of the guests are partly concealed because of this ring and because of the evident inclination

of the couch—according to the older fashion—away from the table.² The two first figures on the right appear almost in a sitting position, the third evidently has his legs stretched on the couch, holding however his torso erect like his companions. The man on the right corner is adult, bearded, and wrapped up in a violet-gray mantle which covers most of his arms. A broad white-yellowish fillet adorning his forehead holds tightly to his temples some tufts of leaves and blades of grass, while a garland of yellow, red, and brown flowers encircles his neck. The left forearm rests horizontally on the couch, and the fingers hold a banquet-wreath. The elbow of the right arm rests on the couch, and the hand holds the bottom of a cup full of wine. The man's head is slightly tilted toward the left, and his eyes gaze downwards with a melancholy expression. The second figure is a young man with energetic features, whose black hair is adorned with a rich wreath of slender sprigs. His head is bending slightly to the right as he gazes intently forward. He wears a white-gray tunic with thin red *clavi* and with a red border on the neck. His left arm rests on the couch just as that of his fellow, but with his hand concealed under the garment; his right arm, on the contrary, is bare to the elbow and is stretched obliquely across the couch and its padded ring. The third figure is a robust adolescent, showing his body in full nudity except for the left shoulder and arm, around which a greenish-gray cloth is wrapped. The black hair is kept tight on the forehead by a red-pinkish fillet, and falls in waving curls on the nape of the neck. The youth gazes boldly, almost enquiringly before him, his head being slightly turned toward the man on his left. His left hand plays with another banquet-wreath which he presses between his open fingers, his right arm is stretched sideways, and the hand holds a cup on the palm. Of the fourth figure, unfortunately, only the head with a part of a shoulder is preserved: the rest of his body and the remainder of the representation were destroyed in antiquity, and have been then replaced by slabs of limestone and marble. The face depicts a man of advanced age, with grayish moustache and flowing beard. The thick curls of hair are adorned here too by a luxuriant garland of leaves and blades of grass. His look is directed to the other figures. Beneath his reddish shoulder the remains of a cushion are visible, where the man evidently rested the elbow of his left arm. On the left upper corner of the panel the man's hand holds an arched object which we shall discuss below. An object with a three-legged base stands on the ground before the central of the three figures on the right. Its body shows vertical grooves, expanding toward the three feet of the base and proving it a metal object. The top is a round plane adorned with an egg or tongue pattern on the edge and with two rings falling from it. It is undoubtedly an incense-burner (*θυμιατήριον*, or *ἑσχάριον*)³ of a shape used in Hellenistic and Roman times, and well known to us both through a large number of representations

² See J. Marquardt and A. Mau, *Das Privatleben der Römer* (in Marquardt and Mommsen, *Handb. der röm. Alterthümer*², Leipzig, 1886), p. 302.

³ Pollux, *Onom.*, X, 65: *θυμιατήριον ἂν τις σοι προσκομίξοι· τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ ἑσχάριον, οἶμαι, καλεῖται.*

with many varieties in details, as well as through some preserved specimens.⁴ Most seem to vary from eight to sixteen inches in height; some are even lower, such as, for instance, the tiny incense-burner in the famous Dioscurides mosaic from Pompeii⁵ which presents a shape very similar to that on our mosaic, but others seem to have been much bigger. Two original specimens,⁶ probably from Egypt, have preserved to us even their calotte-shaped lids, decorated with open-work or with delicate reliefs. One of them shows in the center of the top a strongly projecting ring around which the lid rested, and thus explains the black circular mark on our mosaic. The same ring, only narrower and higher, appears also on the incense-burner represented on a coin from Smyrne,⁷ the age of which is better determined than that of the aforementioned monuments because it is certainly later than A.D. 190; in this, flames are rising from the mouth of the basin of the incense-burner, produced by the burning incense. The shape of the stand shows a very common variation, according to which both the base and the top flair out from a narrow central part. The three feet do not reveal clearly the usual shape of horse-hoofs or lion-paws. A ring decorates the narrowest part of the stand, and two rings hang from the edge of the top as in our mosaic. The same variety of incense-burner appears, especially, in the painting of the Aldobrandini Wedding, where the central ring has an egg or bead decoration, and a similar decoration appears along the edge of the top, as in our mosaic. In the painting not two rings but two little chains hang from the edge; on each side, to be precise, two vertical elements of the chains, ending with small beads at the bottom, are connected in the middle by a curved element. Here a woman brings to the basin of the tripod an object which has given rise to several hypotheses, but which is not yet definitely explained.⁸ It cannot be the lid, because it is smaller than the basin of the incense-burner. It has been interpreted as a cup. It is held, however, obliquely by the woman, in a strange way, as if she had already poured its content of incense. But it might be, on the contrary, a cake of incense itself; and indeed, the figure on our mosaic, with the fingers of the hand protruding beyond the border of the couch, seems to push and to arrange within the mouth of the incense-burner a whitish mass with a round outline, which might well be a similar cake of incense. Above the heads of our figures are inscribed their names: Παρω(ι)χημένος, Ἐνεστώς, Μέλλων, Αἰών. Under-

⁴ K. Wigand, "Thymiateria," in *Bonner Jahrbücher*, CXXII, 1912, pp. 72 ff., class *e*.

⁵ G. E. Rizzo, *La pittura ellenistico-romana* (Milan, 1929), pl. CXLV; E. Pernice, *Die hellenistische Kunst in Pompeji*, VI, *Pavimente u. figürliche Mosaiken* (Berlin, 1938), color-plate 70.

⁶ C. C. Edgar in G. Maspéro, *Le Musée Égyptien*, II (Cairo, 1907), pp. 57 ff., pl. XXIV; Wigand, *loc. cit.*, pl. V, 4-5.

⁷ This is also the shape of the *θυτήριον* in the Carolingian Germanicus manuscript at Leiden; see G. Thiele, *Antike Himmelsbilder* (Berlin, 1898), p. 127, fig. 52.

⁸ Förster in *Arch. Zeit.*, XXXII, 1875, p. 85, note 25; Robert in *Hermes*, XXXV, 1900, p. 659; B. Nogara, *Le Nozze Aldobrandine* (Milan, 1907), p. 18. See on this picture also E. Pfuhl, *Malerei u. Zeichnung der Griechen*, II (Munich, 1923), pp. 873 ff., and fig. 709.

neath, at the bottom of the couch in the middle of the panel, there is another inscription: *Χρόνοι*.

We have, consequently, in this mosaic of Antioch a unique case in which we find not only a series of personifications, but also a kind of title helping us to grasp the general meaning of the allegory; undoubtedly the three figures seated on the same couch are included in the comprehensive conception of the "Chronoi."

Aion (Aevum, Saeculum) is time in an absolute sense, in opposition to Chronos, that is, time in relation to something, and especially to human life.⁹ The epigram attributed to Plato, which we have quoted at the beginning of this paper, well expresses the difference between the two: "Aion brings everything; the long Time knows how to change name and shape and nature and fate as well." In a passage of the *Timaeus* (37 D) Plato outlines also the philosophical definition of Aion, which will long have currency—although not obtaining a universal acceptance—as the conception of ideal eternity, in contrast with Chronos, empirical time. Even before Plato, however, Greek philosophy in its earliest stages was speculating about the concept of time. We can trace these speculations from Pherekydes of Samos, and they were bound of course to rise to the first rank of importance in the thought of the Pythagoreans. The personification of the conception would also occur naturally in the images of poetry, as is exemplified in numerous passages: for example, time is "a benevolent god" (*εὐμαρῆς θεός*) for Sophocles (*El.* 179). In much later times, Chronos is considered as a divine being, a *δαίμων* ruling over human destinies, in the interesting epigram which alludes to the battle of Chaironeia: *ὦ Χρόνε, παντοίων θνητοῖς πανεπίσκοπε δαίμον. . .*¹⁰ From very old times the personification of Chronos enters into Hellenic mythology and cosmogony as well, because of the equation of Chronos with Kronos. Genealogies and assimilations are multiplied hereafter because, from the speculations of the Pythagoreans, Chronos enters as a cosmic principle into the Orphic doctrine, participates in the mysteries, is invoked in magic formulas together with the other primordial principles and with the other abstractions with which it is related. According to the Orphics, in fact, Chronos, identified with Herakles, husband to *Ἀνάγκη* or to *Ἀδράστεια*, "Time that does not grow old," is imagined in the shape of a snake with the

⁹ For recent and comprehensive bibliographies on Aion see: Wernicke in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie*, s. v. Aion, I, cols. 1042 f.; Cumont, *ibid.*, s. v. Aion, Suppl. I, col. 38; C. Lackeit, *Aion, Zeit u. Ewigkeit in Sprache u. Religion der Griechen*, I, Sprache (Diss. Königsberg, 1916); eundem in Pauly-Wissowa, s. v. Aion, Suppl. III, cols. 64 ff.; R. Reitzenstein, *Das iranische Erlösungsmysterium* (Bonn, 1921), pp. 188 ff. (§ 3, Der alexandrinische Aion); Max Zepf, "Der Gott *Αἰών* in der hellenistischen Theologie," *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, XXV, 1927, pp. 225 ff.; Cumont, *Comptes Rendus de l'Acad. des Inscr. et Belles-Lettres*, 1928, p. 278, note 2; A. D. Nock, "A Vision of Mandulis Aion," *Harvard Theological Review*, XXVII, 1934, pp. 53 ff., especially pp. 78 ff.; Campbell Bonner, *supra*, pp. 30 ff.

¹⁰ See on this epigram P. Friedländer, *Studi italiani di Filosofia classica*, N. S., XV, 1938, pp. 117 ff.

heads of a lion and of a bull.¹¹ In the Orphic Hymns Chronos is called Herakles' son, or son of Mene = Selene, or father of Eros and of the Pneumata, father of Dike and

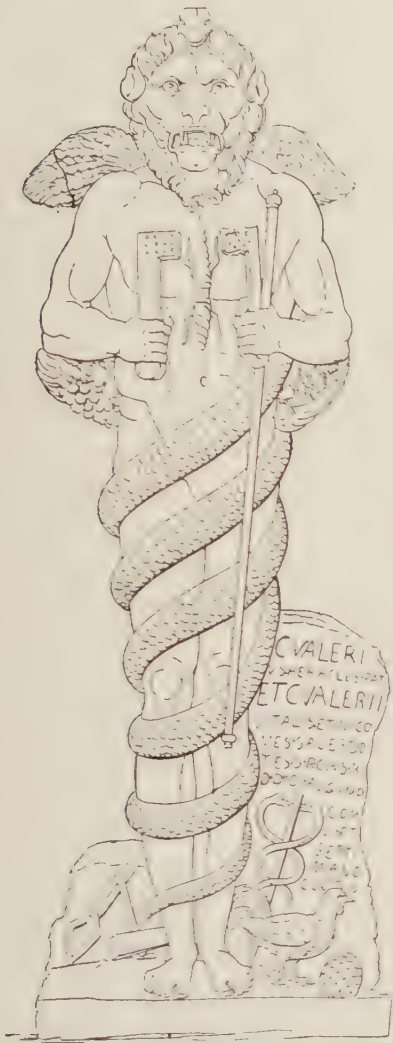


Fig. 4. Marble Statue from the Mithreum of Ostia in the Vatican Library



Fig. 5. Relief from Oxyrhynchus

of the Horae. In view of all this, a monstrous image, of which numerous monuments are preserved to us (Figs. 4 and 5), is generally considered nowadays to be a repre-

¹¹ Damascius Diad., *Dubit. et solutiones de primis principiis*, P. 381, F. 205 r, ed. Ruelle (Paris, 1889), I, p. 318. Cf. U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Euripides' Herakles*², II (Berlin, 1895), pp. 154 ff.

sensation of Chronos and an expression of Orphic conceptions. It has usually a leonine head and a human body encircled by a serpent's coils, on its shoulders are four wings adorned with the symbols of the four seasons, and it holds two keys in its hands.¹² We shall see, however, that not at all to be rejected is the old theory of Zoega according to which this would be the divine being called, in the sacred books of the mysteries, Aion: Αἰὼν ποικιλόμορφος ἔχων κληῖδα γενέθλης, as he is described by Nonnus.¹³ Aion is called the son of Zeus as early as Euripides (*Heraclid.*, 899 f.), and is named in association with the Μοῖρα τελεσσιδώτειρα, the "Destiny which procures the fulfilment." In much later times the name appears in the proem to the Orphic Hymns, known by the title of εὐχὴ πρὸς Μουσαῖον (line 28). In a gold *lamina* published by Father Secchi¹⁴ he is identified with Sarapis and invoked with the words Αἰὼν ἐρπέτα κύριε Σάραπι: because of this appellative it would seem that with the name Aion was invoked an image of Sarapis with its body encircled by serpents, or a divine symbol in the shape of a serpent. This assimilation of Aion to Sarapis, the god of the dead, explains his association in a cult of Alexandria with a female divinity whom the Greeks called Kore. It was a nocturnal rite, described by St. Epiphanius (*Panarion*, LI, 22, 9 f.; ed. Holl, II, Leipzig, 1922, p. 285), which was performed in Kore's sanctuary by carrying in procession an image of Aion by the light of torches and to the sound of flutes and tambourines, to celebrate his birth from Kore, that is, from "the Virgin," considered here as the mother and not, as in the Hellenic myth, the bride of the god of Hades. Aion was represented in his wooden idol as seated, naked, with a gold cross on his forehead, two similar crosses on his hands and two on his knees.¹⁵ In the Alexander legend of Pseudo-Callisthenes (about A.D. 300)¹⁶ there is reference probably to the same idol in the "indescribable xoanon" representing Sarapis-Aion, or Aion Plutonium, identified also with Agathos Daemon, who is called the patron deity of Alexandria. In this passage a colossal image of Kore is

¹² G. Zoega, *Bassirilievi antichi di Roma*, II (Rome, 1808), pp. 32 ff., pl. LIX; F. Cumont, *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux Mystères de Mithra*, I (Bruxelles, 1899), pp. 74 ff.; II (1896), pp. 238 f., figs. 68-69; *idem*, *Les Mystères de Mithra*³ (Bruxelles, 1913), p. 235, figs. 26-27, p. 240 (statue of the Mithreum at Sidon: see on this also A. de Ridder, *Catal. de la Coll. de Clercq*, IV, *Les Marbles* [Paris, 1906], no. 49, pp. 61 f., pls. XXII-XXIII).

¹³ "But Time the manifold, holding the key of generation, spread his white shock of hair over the knees of Zeus, let fall the flowing mass of his beard in supplication," etc. (*Dionys.*, VII, 22 ff., transl. of Loeb Class. Libr.). Lackeit, *op. cit.*, p. 90, note 2, denies, on the contrary, any connection between the image by Nonnus, which would be purely poetical and symbolic, and the Mithriac monuments.

¹⁴ *Bull. Inst.*, XXIV, 1852, pp. 151 f.; R. Wünsch, *Sethianische Verfluchungstafeln* (Leipzig, 1898), p. 101; Campbell Bonner, *loc. cit.* See also another inscription in which Aion is identified with Helios Sarapis, Bonner, *supra*, p. 34.

¹⁵ See the bibliography on this festival and on the image of Aion by Cumont, *Comptes Rendus de l'Acad. des Inscr. et Belles-Lettres*, 1928, p. 278, note 2; Nock, *loc. cit.*, pp. 90 ff.

¹⁶ I, 33 (ed. Kroll, Berlin, 1926, pp. 33 f.): ξόανον δὲ ἔνδον καθεζόμενον, ὃ θνητὴ φύσις οὐχ εἶπεν ἀπαγγέλλαι· παρεωστῆκει δὲ τῷ ἀφράστῳ ξοάνῳ κόρης ἄγαλμα μέγιστον.

mentioned as well. These are indeed, in all probability, the two divinities represented on a relief from Rome or the Roman Campagna (Fig. 6), dating from the second or third century after Christ, and which from the Primoli Collection passed into the possession of Franz Cumont. Both divinities unfortunately are headless. Aion, with a bare torso and a kilt around his waist, had certainly the *klaft* on his head, the *ankh* in his right hand, and a two-headed serpent winding around his legs and looping its two heads over his shoulders.¹⁷ Elsewhere our god is identified with Osiris and Adonis.¹⁸ The identification with the Sun appears also directly, beside its being implicit in Aion's identification with Agathos Daemon, which is but another name often applied in magic papyri to the Sun-God:¹⁹ so, for instance, in the great magic papyrus of Paris there is an invocation to him identified with Ra: ὁ τῶν ὅλων δεσπότης, ὁ Αἰὼν τῶν Αἰώνων· σὺ εἶ ὁ κοσμοκράτωρ, Ῥᾶ, Πᾶν.²⁰ In the same way he is identified with the Sun in one of the hymns attributed to the Cretan poet of the Antonine period, Mesomedes:

Σὺ δ' ὦ λαμπραῖς ἀκτίσι
γαῖαν πάσαν πυρσεύων
Αἰὼν ἀσβέστων φλογμῶν.²¹



Fig. 6. The Primoli Relief with Aion and Kore in the Cumont Collection

At Talmis in Nubia, at a short distance from the Nile's Little Cataracts, Aion is identified with another solar deity, Merul or Melul, Mandulis in Greek, whose cult, generally associated with that of Isis, had its center in that locality.²² By other authors,

¹⁷ Cumont, *loc. cit.*, figs. 1-2.

¹⁸ Suidas, *s. v.* Ἡραΐσκος: τὸ ἄρρητον ἄγαλμα τοῦ Αἰῶνος ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ κατεχόμενον· ὃν Ἀλεξανδρεῖς ἐτίμησαν Ὡσιριν ὄντα καὶ Ἀδωνιν ὁμοῦ. See also *s. v.* Ἐπιφάνιος (ed. Bernhardt, I 2, 1852, cols. 871 ff.; col. 481; ed. Ada Adler, II, Leipzig, 1931, pp. 579 f., pp. 391 f.).

¹⁹ K. Preisendanz, *Papyri Graecae Magicae*, IV, 3170 (Pap. Par., vol. I, p. 176): Αἰὼν, ἱερὲ Ἀγαθὲ Δαίμον, τέλει πάσας χάριτας καὶ τὰς σὰς ἐνθέας φήμας (cf. R. Reitzenstein, *Poimandres* [Leipzig, 1904], p. 30).

²⁰ *Pap. Gr. Mag.*, IV, 2197 ff. (vol. I, p. 140).

²¹ See Delatte, "Orphica," *Musée Belge*, XVII, 1913, pp. 135 ff., especially pp. 138 f.; Wilamowitz, *Griechische Verskunst* (Berlin, 1921), pp. 595 ff.; K. Horna, "Die Hymnen des Mesomedes," *Sitzungsber. d. Akad. d. Wissenschaften in Wien*, Phil.-hist. Kl., CCVII, 1928, pp. 7 ff.; Nock, *loc. cit.*, p. 97.

²² A chapel erected to this god by one of the Ptolemies was enlarged at the time of Augustus into a big temple, conspicuous ruins of which still exist. During the third century after Christ the

on the contrary, Aion is declared a mortal: so according to the Phoenician Philo of Byblos he would be the son of the wind god Kolpias and of Baaut = Nyx, a brother to Protogonos = Phanes, father of Geneos and Genea, the inventor of nourishment with the fruit of trees. To him was even dedicated a feast-day, known to be the 5th of January (Ioh. Lydus, *De mens.*, IV, 1).²³ The mythological and cosmogonic elaborations around the divinized concept of Aion were bound in fact to receive a powerful stimulus when the peculiar Abraxas religion was founded in Alexandria, in the second century after Christ, by the genial Basileides. Here a deep Brahminical inspiration was combined with pagan, Egyptian, Mithriac elements, and with creeds of the young Christian religion. But in the last religious cycle where the conception of Aion found its widest diffusion, in Gnosticism, we find it also deprived of all its former mythological and philosophical content: the Gnostics have created a special doctrine and an elaborate nomenclature of the Aiones, who have multiplied by now and fill the world like categories of demons, but are reduced to mere conceptions of species, both temporal and spatial.²⁴

Alongside of these mythological and cosmogonic divagations, however, philosophy was evolving independently its own speculation on the concept of time, or rather, since Aristotle, was trying to disentangle the rational element from the religious involvements, and was addressing the thought to new, daring considerations: "As a matter of fact, this word 'duration' possessed a divine significance for the ancients, for the fulfilment which includes the period of life of any creature outside of which no natural development can fall, has been called its duration. On the same principle the fulfilment of the whole heaven, the fulfilment which includes all time and infinity, is 'duration'—a name based upon the fact that it *is always*—duration immortal and divine."²⁵ During the first centuries of our era the investigations on the time con-

town passed from Roman hands; later the temple became a church dedicated to St. Archelaus. One among the many invocations (*proskynemata*) inscribed on the pronaos and on the porticoes around the temple's cella is especially interesting, and has been thoroughly studied by Nock in his work quoted above. It was written by a worshipper who urges the god to make manifest to him whether he is the Sun-God. Among the invocations to the god, we read: ἀκτινοβόλε δεσπότη, Μανδοῦλι, Τιτάν, Μακαρεῦ . . . ; and finally: ἔνθα σε ἔγνω, Μανδοῦλι, ἥλιον τὸν παντεινόπτην δεσπότην, ἀπάντων βασιλέα, Αἰὼνα παντοκράτορα. Again the identification with the Sun-God appears in the last words of the text: "O happy folk, that dwell in the city beloved by the Sun Mandulis, even holy Talmis, which is under the sceptre of fair-tressed Isis of the countless names."

²³ The false etymology suggested in this passage, that is Αἰών = Ianus, may have been inspired by the identification of Ianus, represented as double-faced and with the keys in his hand, with the lion-headed being we have described above, also holding the keys and also (see Cumont, *Textes et Mon.*, I, p. 75, note 5) originally two-headed.

²⁴ See on these C. W. King, *The Gnostics* (London, 1887), pp. 257 ff.; Bousset, *s. vv.* Gnosis and Gnostiker in Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, VII, cols. 1503 ff., 1534 ff.; Lackeit, *op. cit.*, pp. 45 ff.

²⁵ [αἰὼν] θεῖως ἐφθεγκται παρὰ τῶν ἀρχαίων· τὸ γὰρ τέλος τὸ περιέχον τὸν τῆς ἐκάστου ζωῆς χρόνον, οἷ μὴθὲν ἔξω κατὰ φύσιν, αἰὼν ἐκάστου κέκληται. κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ λόγον καὶ τὸ τοῦ παντός οὐρανοῦ τέλος καὶ τὸ τὸν πάντα χρόνον καὶ τὴν ἀπειρίαν περιέχον τέλος αἰὼν ἐστίν, ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰεῖ εἶναι εἰληφὸς τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν, ἀθάνατος καὶ θεῖος (Aristotle, *De caelo*, I, 279a, trans. Stocks). At the end of this passage αἰὼν is derived from αἰεῖ ὄν.

ceptions are taken up again and with new vigor—alongside the blossoming of the theosophical doctrines of the Gnostics—by the philosophical schools of the Neopythagoreans and the Neoplatonics. The idea of Aion, eternal Time, is now clearly distinguished from the subdivisions of Chronos into past, present, and future, of which indeed the non-existence is pointed out. On the other hand, Chronos is distinguished from *Καιρός*, time in a generic sense, from time in relation to human activity, from “opportune time.”²⁶ Two passages by a thinker belonging to the Neopythagorean circle, Plutarch, oppose in fact Chronos on the one hand and Aion on the other:

“And as for that on which we most rely to support our conception of time, as we utter the words, ‘it is here,’ ‘it is at hand,’ and ‘now’—all this again reason, entering in,²⁷ demolishes utterly. For ‘now’ is crowded out into the future and the past, when we would look upon it as a culmination; for of necessity it suffers division. . . .”

“But God is (if there be need to say so), and He exists for no fixed time, but for the everlasting ages which are immovable, timeless, and undeviating, in which there is no earlier nor later, no future nor past, no older nor younger. . . .”²⁸

At the end of the 2nd cent. after Christ, we find similar speculations in Sextus Empiricus, who uses the exact terminology of our mosaic: ἀμέριστος [ὁ χρόνος] . . . οὐκ ἔστιν· διαιρεῖται γὰρ εἰς τε τὸν ἐνεστώτα καὶ εἰς τὸν παρῳχηκότα καὶ εἰς τὸν μέλλοντα (*Pyrrhon. Hypotypos.*, III, 143: *περὶ χρόνου*; ed. Mutschmann, Leipzig, 1912, I, p. 172). Elsewhere even more explicitly: ὁ χρόνος τριμερὴς ἔστιν· τὸ μὲν γάρ τι ἦν αὐτοῦ παρῳχημένον, τὸ δὲ ἐνεστώς, τὸ δὲ μέλλον (*Adversus Mathematicos*, X, 197: εἰ ἔστι χρόνος; ed. cit., II, p. 344).²⁹ We do not need for our purposes, consequently, further to follow the successive speculations about the conceptions of Aion and

²⁶ See my papers on the conception of *Καιρός* in the thought of the Greeks, *Rendic. della R. Accad. dei Lincei*, Sc. mor. e filos., XXXII, 1923, pp. 260 ff.; XXXIII, 1924, pp. 93 ff.; *Atene e Roma*, N. S., IV, 1923, pp. 18 ff.; Lamer, in Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. Kairos (X, 2, col. 1510 ff.); A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, II, 2 (Cambridge, 1925), pp. 859 ff.; III, 2 (Cambridge, 1940), p. 1161; R. Hinks, *Myth and Allegory in Ancient Art* (London, 1939), pp. 117 ff.

²⁷ The text here and in several other words is somewhat corrupt.

²⁸ ὃ δὲ μάλιστα τὴν νόησιν ἐπερείδοντες τοῦ χρόνου, τὸ ‘ἐνέστηκε’ καὶ τὸ ‘πάρεστι’ καὶ τὸ ‘νῦν’ φθεγγόμεθα, τοῦτ’ αὖ πάλιν ἅπαν εἰσδύμενος ὁ λόγος ἀπόλλυσιν. ἐκθλίβεται γὰρ εἰς τὸ μέλλον καὶ τὸ παρῳχημένον ὥσπερ ἀκμὴν βουλομένοις ἰδεῖν, ἐξ ἀνάγκης διστάμενον (Plutarch, *De E apud Delphos*, 19, *Moralia*, 392 F). ‘Ἀλλ’ ἔστιν ὁ θεός, εἰ χρὴ φάναι, καὶ ἔστι κατ’ οὐδένα χρόνον ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸν αἰῶνα τὸν ἀκίνητον καὶ ἄχρονον καὶ ἀνέγκλιτον καὶ οὐ πρότερον οὐδὲν ἔστιν οὐδ’ ὕστερον οὐδὲ μέλλον οὐδὲ παρῳχημένον οὐδὲ πρεσβύτερον οὐδὲ νεώτερον, etc. (*ibid.*, 20. Text and translation by F. C. Babbitt, *Loeb Classical Library, Moralia*, V, pp. 242 ff.). The notion of tripartite time goes as far back as Homer in Greek literature. Vision through time, through the past as well as through the present and the future, is the very quality distinguishing the wise man from the fool. Calchas is a seer who knows the future through having knowledge of past and present (A 70: ὅς ἤδη τά τ’ ἐόντα τά τ’ ἐσσόμενα πρό τ’ ἐόντα). See on this formula P. Friedländer, in his review of F. Jacoby, *Hesiodi Carmina*, in *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1931, pp. 250 ff.

²⁹ The same terminology is generally used also by the grammarians for the tenses of the verb: see e. g., Dionys. Thr. in I. Bekker, *Anecdota*, II (Berlin, 1816), p. 638, 22. Variations of these terms are: *παρεληλυθός*; *τὸν παρόντα* and *τὸν διεληθόντα χρόνον*; *ἐπιόντα*, *ἐπίλοιπον*, etc.

Chronos, which multiplied on a large scale in the later Neoplatonic doctrines, especially in Plotinus and Proclus: ³⁰ the former's seventh book of the III *Ennead* bears indeed the title *περὶ αἰῶνος καὶ χρόνου*. In this school the conception of Aion is opposed to Chronos in the same relationship as that of *νοῦς* to *ψυχή*: as against the running Chronos, Aion stands immutable, constant, and eternally like himself. ³¹ These qualities, emerging more and more in the late philosophical speculation, make him more and more nearly identical to the divinity itself.

Although the wide diffusion of the concepts we are dealing with in Orphic doctrines and in popular religion may have inspired artistic representations of their personifications, in our mosaic at least we do not find any trace of the fantastic and confused images described for them in the mystic texts. But as pure speculation in philosophy and literature has coexisted with its transformation into religious and mystic conceptions, so allegories in monstrous shapes have coexisted in art with personification in human shapes of the ideas referring to Time. These have left us a testimony from very early times indeed, that is, the only other ancient monument, beside our mosaic, indisputably representing Aion, whose name is determined by an inscription: a very fragmentary red-figured Attic vase in Karlsruhe (Fig. 7). ³² Here Aion was introduced into a scene of the Underworld together with Orpheus and Eurydice: only a part of his head remains, with a hand on his forehead in a thoughtful and sorrowful attitude. The only representation of Chronos determined in the same way by an inscription is the winged youth in Homer's Apotheosis; ³³ he stands behind the poet, together with Oikoumene who lays a garland on his head, and holds a roll. We do not need to deal here with the personifications of the subdivisions of time, such as the Horae and the months of the year, which had the widest diffusion because they entered into the illustrations of the ancient calendars. We may only mention that a personification of the Year himself, Eniautós, appeared wearing a tragic costume in the famous Pompé of Ptolemy II; he was accompanied by a rarer personification, that of Penteteris, with the palm of Victory in her hand; she was followed by the Horae. ³⁴ The existence, at least, of another allegory of Aion in human shape in late

³⁰ H. Leisegang, *Die Begriffe der Zeit u. Ewigkeit im späteren Platonismus* (Münster, 1913); Lackeit, *op. cit.*, pp. 69 ff.

³¹ Also in *Poimandres* we find the same opposition exactly expressed: *τοῦ δὲ αἰῶνος ἢ ταυτότης· τοῦ δὲ κόσμου ἢ τάξης· τοῦ δὲ χρόνου μεταβολή* (see Lackeit, *op. cit.*, p. 78).

³² *Jahrbuch*, IV, 1889, pp. 227 f., pl. 7. Cf. however L. Séchan, *Ét. sur la trag. gr.*, pp. 275 ff.

³³ Brunn-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler*, pl. 50.

³⁴ Athenaeus, *Deipnos*, V, 198, a, b; cf. Fr. Studniczka, *Abh. Sächs. Gesell. d. Wissenschaften*, Phil.-hist. Kl., XXX, Leipzig, 1914, 2nd fasc., p. 15. Miss J. L. Harrison proposed the identification of the figure of a boy, who follows the three Horae in a famous relief of the Acropolis Museum, as the image of young Eniautós: see *Themis* (Cambridge, 1912), p. 188, fig. 44; cf. also R. Hinks, *Myth and Allegory in Ancient Art* (London, 1939), p. 45. Penteteris was probably the personification of the spring festival itself, rather than that of the period of five years. K. Lehmann-Hartleben and E. C. Olsen, *Dionysiac Sarcophagi in Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1942), p. 26 and fig. 8, suggest this interpretation of the admirable corner-figure of the sarcophagus with the triumph of

antiquity is testified by John of Gaza's famous Ἐκφρασις τοῦ κοσμικοῦ πίνακος, that is, the description of a cycle of paintings existing at his time in the winter-bath of his town.³⁵ Among a number of allegorical figures in this painting Aion also appears (lines 137 ff.):

καὶ πολυδινῆτων ἐτέων ἀντόσπορος Αἰὼν
 . . . χρόνον εἰς χρόνον ἄλλον ἐρέυγεται ἄψοφος ἔρπων.



Fig. 7. Inscribed Figure of Aion from a Fragmentary Attic Vase in Karlsruhe

Before the discovery of the Antioch mosaic the only possible comparison to this description was offered by the illustration of Psalm 89 in the Carolingian Utrecht Psalter (Fig. 8),³⁶ certainly inspired by an earlier work which possibly goes back

Dionysius in Baltimore. Two incense-burners were carried in the pompé with the group of the Horae: θυματήρια δύο κίσσινα ἐκ χρυσοῦ ἐξαπήχη.

³⁵ A reconstruction of the painting has been attempted by Paul Friedländer in his exhaustive edition of this text: *Johannes von Gaza u. Paulus Silentarius: Kunstbeschreibungen Justinianischer Zeit*, Leipzig and Berlin, 1912: on Aion see pp. 141 ff., pp. 177 ff. (See the reconstruction also in R. Hinks, *op. cit.*, pl. 2). Cf. also Lackeit, *op. cit.*, pp. 95 ff. In regard to this passage, nothing substantial is added by G. Krahmer in his valuable essay, *De tabula mundi ab Joanne descripta* (Halle Diss., Berlin, 1920), pp. 8 f.

³⁶ H. Graeven, *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, XXI, 1898, p. 33. Different is the interpretation by E. T. DeWald, *The Illustrations of the Utrecht Psalter* (Princeton, 1932), p. 41, pl. LXXXIII.

beyond the limits of the Middle-Ages.³⁷ Here the Chronoi are really represented, on the left margin of the miniature, as three naked figures, very schematically drawn and consequently not necessarily as three children, as they have been generally interpreted: on the right the figure of Aion follows, also naked, and holding in his hand a long serpentine object; it is, in fact, in all probability, a misunderstood and rough sketch of a snake, such as is held by the image of Saturnus-Saeculum in the description of a

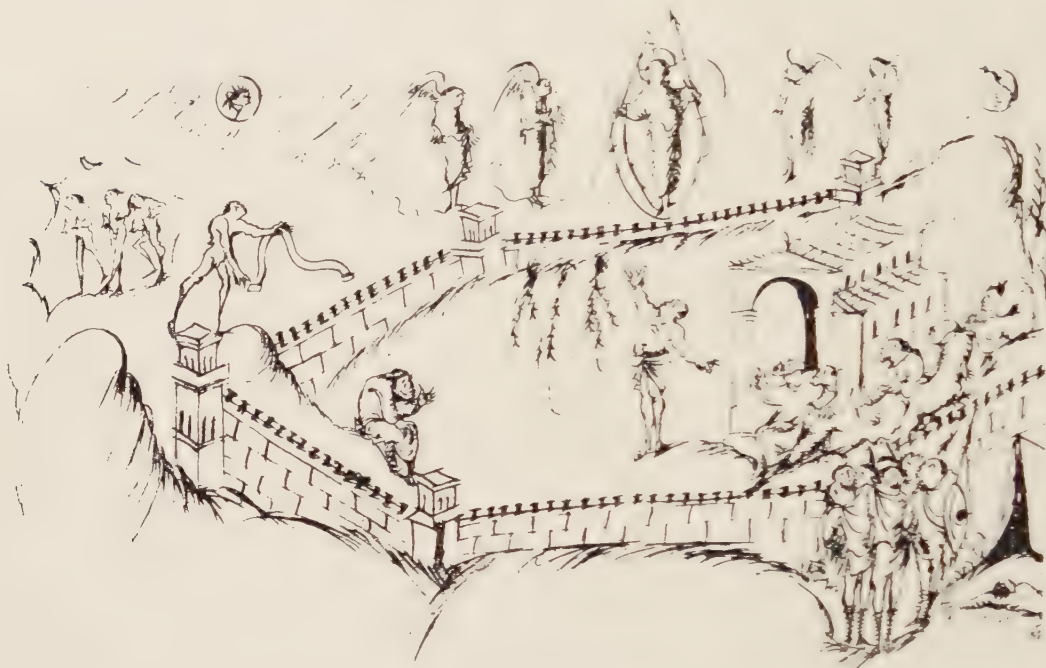


Fig. 8. Utrecht Psalter, Illustration to Psalm 89

medieval text, the *Mythographus Vaticanus III*:³⁸ *Tempora omnia in se recurrunt, qua de causa draconem flammivomum in dextra tenere perhibetur*. Another literary source confirms the possibility of the detachment of the serpent from Aion's body: it is a passage in the great magic papyrus of Paris, where for a magic ritual the usual demonic being with leonine head is described, not with a snake twisted around the body, but lifting with the right hand a staff around which one serpent is twined, while another creeps around his left arm.³⁹ On the relief of Aion and Kore, we have seen the serpent surrounding only the legs of Aion, and rising from there, supported by the god's left hand, above his shoulders. But a relief in the gardens of the Colonna

³⁷ Cf. G. R. Benson and D. T. Tselos, in *Art Bulletin*, XIII, 1931, pp. 13 ff.

³⁸ See Cumont, *Textes et Mon.*, II, p. 53, § 6.

³⁹ *Pap. Gr. Mag.*, IV, 2113 ff. (vol. I, p. 136); Cumont, *Textes et Mon.*, II, p. 57, c: ἀνδρὶς λεοντοπρόσωπος, περιεζωσμένος, κρατῶν τῇ δεξιᾷ ῥάβδον, ἐφ' ᾗ ἔστω δράκων, τῇ δὲ ἀριστερᾷ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ ὅλη ἀσπίς τις περιελίχθω.

Palace on the Quirinale in Rome shows an image of the lion-headed Aion, wearing breeches on the lower part of its body, and stretching both arms holding torches; here the snakes are twisted around the four open wings.⁴⁰ On another relief, from Argentoratum in Upper Germany (Fig. 9), Aion is, on the contrary, a figure with



Fig. 9. Relief from Argentoratum in Upper Germany



Fig. 10. Amulet in Black Stone with the Figure of Aion in the Naturhistorisches Museum, Vienna

a human and bearded face, who stands, with four spread wings, before a lion. He wears a kilt around the waist similar to that worn by the god in the relief of Aion and Kore; his right hand holds a key and his left a torch. Here the serpent surrounds a crater lying on the floor in the left corner of the relief.⁴¹ Finally, the serpent is held in the right hand by another figure (Fig. 10) in which without doubt a variation of

⁴⁰ Cumont, *ibid.*, II, p. 197, no. 10 b, fig. 22.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, II, p. 340, no. 240, fig. 214. Also the headless statue from the Mithreum of Emerita,

Chronos-Aion was recognized, although the cryptic text around it mentions specifically neither Chronos nor Aion: here neither the usual lion-headed figure appears, nor the human winged being we have described above, but a demon with a human upper part and a leonine lower part of the body. The image is roughly carved on an amulet of the Naturhistorisches Museum in Vienna,⁴² in a black stone, the shape of which recalls a prehistoric axe. It is well known, indeed, that these prehistoric implements were considered in historical ages especially fit for magical purposes. The demon is here, too, bearded, but shows a bald head⁴³ adorned with horns;⁴⁴ his left hand rests on his breast. The amulet seems too big to be hung around the neck like a *περίαμμα*, and more fit for a house *φυλακτήριον*.

But the figure of Aion on our mosaic, in spite of its fragmentary state, casts a bright light upon a much discussed iconographic problem, and one destined perhaps to remain unsolved without the discovery of new decisive arguments such as that offered by the Antiochene monument. We have before us the figure of an old man with long white hair and beard, such as Aion is usually depicted, for instance in the Nonnus verses quoted above. But the curved object he holds with his out-stretched right hand is not a veil, as has been claimed, nor a roll. If continued beyond the fracture, it would describe a complete circle. It appears to be of solid material, not fluctuating, and its edges, drawn in perspective, are imagined as running parallel: it is in fact a wheel, probably of metal, thin, gray in color with brown edges. Consequently we have before us the first certain and indisputable artistic representation of Aion such as he often appears to us in poetical descriptions, turning the wheel of life, or of the human seasons. We may find a vague image of this conception as early as Pindar (*Isthm.*, VIII, 14 f.):

δόλιος γὰρ αἰὼν ἐπ' ἀνδράσι κρέμαται,
ἐλίσσων βίου πόρον.

But if we descend through many centuries, down beyond the age of our mosaic (but to about the age to which the original of the Utrecht Psalter may be attributed), in a passage by Nonnus—the poet who uses the image of Aion more often than any

surrounded by snakes, had originally in all probability a human head, since a leonine mask is represented on its breast: see Cumont, *Comptes Rendus de l'Acad. des Inscr. et Belles-Lettres*, 1905, p. 149, fig.

⁴² R. Wünsch, "Deisidaimoniaka," in *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, XII, 1909, pp. 32 ff., fig. 4; Th. Hopfner, *Griech.-ägyptischer Offenbarungszauber*, II (*Studien zur Paläographie u. Papyruskunde*, ed. by G. Wessely, XXIII, Leipzig, 1924), p. 70, § 136 f., p. 76, fig. 2.

⁴³ A peculiarity attributed to *Kaipós*, bald but with a tuft of hair on his forehead: see Phaedrus, *Fabulae Aesop.*, V, 8 (Tempus). Also the image by Lysippos was bald; see the interesting epigram of the *Anth. Plan.* IV, 275. Cf. my paper quoted above in *Rend. Lincei*, XXXII, 1923, pp. 280 f.

⁴⁴ Goat's horns are characteristic of the Sun-God Ammon-Ra.

other ⁴⁵—we read of Aion, stooped, turning the wheel of time (*Dionys.*, XXXVI, 422 f.):

καὶ τότε τετραπόροιο χρόνου στροφάλιγγα κυλίνδων,
ἰππεύων ἔτος ἕκτον, ἐλίσσεται καμπύλος Αἰών. . . .



Fig. 11. Mosaic in Black and White from a Tomb of the Necropolis of the Isola Sacra near Ostia

What more enlightening artistic illustration of this passage could we produce than the recently discovered black-and-white mosaic from a tomb of the Isola Sacra near the mouth of the Tiber at Ostia (Fig. 11)? ⁴⁶ The nude old man seated on a rock and

⁴⁵ Lackeit, *op. cit.*, pp. 86 ff.

⁴⁶ G. Calza, *La Necropoli del porto di Roma nell'Isola Sacra* (Rome, 1940), Tomb no. 101, pp. 183 ff., fig. 92, pp. 312 f. The tomb seems to belong to the Hadrianic-Antonine period. A cloth

turning a wheel, is undoubtedly Aion. He eternally turns the wheel of time; but time rolls, in regard to human life, in the fourfold aspect of the seasons: the allegories of



Fig. 12. Silver *Patera* from Parabiago in the Palazzo di Brera, Milan

is spread on the rock on which Aion is seated. He seems to have a wreath around his head. The wreaths of the Seasons are respectively of flowers, ears of corn, vines and weeds.

Because he could not refer to figured representations, Tassilo von Scheffer, in his translation of the passage by Nonnus quoted above (Munich, 1933), fails to grasp the real elements of the poet's image. See the similar image by John of Gaza, where the months replace the seasons as periods of the year (*infra*, p. 311).

the four seasons indeed, each characterised by their usual attributes of different wreaths, are ready to pass through the wheel, preceded by Spring who is already treading over it with a dancing step. The link between eternal Aion and the earthly aspect of Time is furthermore symbolized by the nude female figure lying on the ground above the scene. It is evidently the image of Tellus. It is as Aion that we recognize now, consequently, another figure that appears in a similar attitude, turning a wheel, but now specified as the wheel of the Zodiac. The figure appears, to be precise, in a different aspect, not as a bearded old man but as a vigorous youth, standing within the wheel or nearby, on three well-known monuments, associated with other allegories or connected with other monuments clearly related to mystic cults. These three monuments are: the silver *lanx* from Parabiago (Figs. 12-13), and the two mosaics from Sentinum, modern Sassoferato (Fig. 14) and Hippo Regius in Algeria (Fig. 15).⁴⁷ The youth, half-draped on the silver plate and on the African mosaic, in the former holds a scepter, and is supported within the wheel by Atlas and flanked by a snake wound around a bethel, in the latter holds the horn of abundance; he is naked, his head crowned with a rich wreath of flowers, on the mosaic of Sentinum. On the *lanx* the figure faces the triumph of Cybele and Attis; above are represented the divinities of Light, the quadriga of the rising sun preceded by Phosphorus and the biga of the moon preceded by Hesperus; below are the allegories of Tellus and the Horae, of Ocean and Thetis, and of the nymphs of the fountains. The mosaic of Sentinum decorated the floor of an annex to a Mithreum, in



Fig. 13. Detail of Figure 12

the mosaic of Sentinum. On the *lanx* the figure faces the triumph of Cybele and Attis; above are represented the divinities of Light, the quadriga of the rising sun preceded by Phosphorus and the biga of the moon preceded by Hesperus; below are the allegories of Tellus and the Horae, of Ocean and Thetis, and of the nymphs of the fountains. The mosaic of Sentinum decorated the floor of an annex to a Mithreum, in

⁴⁷ Alda Levi, *La Patera d'argento di Parabiago*, R. Istituto di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte, *Opere d'Arte*, fasc. V (Rome, 1935), pp. 8 f., notes 26-27, pls. I-IV; *eadem*, *Critica d'Arte*, II, 1937, pp. 218 ff., figs. 5-6; *Inventaire des Mosaïques de la Gaule et de l'Afrique*, III, *Algérie*, no. 41, plate. The mosaic of Hippo is still *in situ*; that from Sentinum is in the Room of Trajan in the Munich Glyptothek. The silver *patera* is preserved in the Palazzo di Brera, Milan.

The interpretation as Aion of the youth on the Parabiago plate seems to be suggested also by R. Hinks, *Myth and Allegory*, p. 41.

which also a relief with Mithras tauroktonos was discovered. In all three monuments, furthermore, by the gesture of the hand of the god of the Zodiac resting on the sign of the Bull, Aion seems clearly represented as *Sol in Toro*: a meaning that in the Parabiago plate is an obvious allusion to the marriage of Cybele and Attis which took place exactly in the spring equinox, from immemorial times fixed by the oriental



Fig. 14. Mosaic Floor from a Mithreum at Sentinum (Sassoferrato)
now in the Glyptothek at Munich

astronomers and astrologers at the entry of the sun into this constellation. The god of the Zodiac has been variously interpreted as Dionysos, the solar Apollo, Sol, Annus, Caelus, Phanes,⁴⁸ and finally as Mithras. But indeed we have already mentioned how Aion in the Gnostic doctrines was identified with the solar divinities, and how he was considered as a brother to Phanes. The equation with Mithras of all these solar divinities such as Aion, Helios, Dionysos, has already suggested also the interpretation of Mithras for the theriomorphic being who is called generally, as we have seen

⁴⁸ Albizzati, "La Lanx di Parabiago e i Testi orfici," in *Athenaeum*, XXV, 1937, pp. 187 ff. According to Albizzati, p. 190, note 2, the position of the youth's hand on the sign of the Zodiac would have a different meaning as well, and would refer, to be precise, to Phanes' birth.



Fig. 15. Fragmentary Mosaic at Hippo Regius in Algeria

before, Chronos or Aion;⁴⁹ strictly analogous to this is another image, the relief of Modena (to which we shall return below)⁵⁰ now generally interpreted as Phanes (Fig. 16). If the name of Aion does not appear in the Mithriac mysteries, this means only



Fig. 16. Relief in Modena

that in all probability it could not appear because it was not to be pronounced by the profane; we shall repeatedly find an echo of this prohibition in magic texts, and we noticed before the reticence in pronouncing his name in the passage of Suidas mentioning his cult-statue at Alexandria. On the other hand, the relationship between the

⁴⁹ See A. Dieterich, *Abrahas* (Leipzig, 1891), pp. 53 f.

⁵⁰ Page 299.

late Gnostic conception of Aion and the religion of Mithras is undeniable; Aion is almost identical with the Mithriac personification of Time, with the Mithriac Saturnus-Kronos. And no wonder. We have said that originally the Hellenic Aion was not at all conceived as the supreme and eternal principle of the universe, but only as a period of time renewing itself, a duration of time repeating itself (and especially that of the year). In the cosmogonies preserved to us this subordinate position is made clear by the denomination of Aion as the son of Kronos, or of a Virgin, or of Helios.⁵¹ Slowly, however, the old conceptions of the astral mythology were transformed under the influence of the speculations of the theologians. To the divinized Aion are applied the definitions which philosophy had attributed to the cosmic principles of Time. This last conception of Aion-Time approaches consequently that abstraction of Time which played an important role in the doctrines of the Chaldaic oracles, from which the mysteries of Mithras were derived. Now can flow together into the conception of Aion all qualities of endless Time, the primeval cause of all things, such as is the character of the old Persian divinity Zervan Akarana whom a sect of magicians placed indeed at the origin of the world as the king of the celestial hierarchies, and from whom both the good god Ahura Mazda and the evil god Ahriman were born.⁵² Expressions, such as we have already found for the late god of the classical world, are used for this divinity: ἄπανστον ἐν ἀπαύστοις αἰῶνος περιόδοις (Dio Chrysostom, *Orat.* XXXVI, 42; ed. G. Budé, II, Leipzig, 1919, p. 16). The image of the wheel, finally, which we have seen suddenly appear in the artistic repertory of late antiquity for Aion, goes back to him as well: the figure which we have met with before may exactly fit the image as described by Proclus, "always turning an untiring wheel and staying in it."⁵³

Again the poetical images of Hellenic classical literature agree exactly with the religious content of the oriental doctrines. The deity who moves the beginnings of things, and who stands immobile in the center of the wheel, recalls the statue of Aion,

⁵¹ σὺν [Ἡλίῳ] εἶ ὁ πατήρ τοῦ παλιγγενεοῦς Αἰῶνος: *Patr. Gr. Mag.*, VII, 510 (London papyrus, vol. II, p. 23).

⁵² Nock, *loc. cit.*, pp. 79 ff. refuses to recognize the identity of Aion and Zervan. It is certain that originally there was nothing in common between Aion and the Babylonian divinities (see Cumont, in *Comptes Rendus cit.*, 1928, p. 279). We may accept also Nock's affirmation (*loc. cit.*, p. 82) that "so far as I know, Aion never renders Zervan," or rather that (p. 86) "Aion is not actually used of Zervan." This does not destroy, however, the general and plausible opinion that, together with Semitic, Egyptian, and other elements, also elements characteristic of Zervan contributed through Mithraism in shaping the complex figure of Aion in the syncretistic religion and thought of late antiquity.

⁵³ καὶ δινεῖν αἰεὶ τε μένειν ἀόκνῳ στροφάλειγι (Proclus, *In Timaeum*, p. 242 D; ed. E. Diehl, III, Leipzig, 1906, pp. 13 f.); cf. W. Kroll, *De oraculis Chaldaicis* (in *Breslauer Philol. Abhandlungen*, VII, 1894), p. 27, and note 1. See also other similar passages, such as that by Proclus, *In Parm.*, 1161, 28: τὰ δὲ λόγια πάσας πηγὰς ἀποφαίνεται καὶ ἀρχὴς [τὸν αἰῶνα] δινεῖν αἰεὶ τε μένειν ἀόκνῳ στροφάλειγι, etc.

who was adored at Eleusis, and whose dedication, belonging to the age of Augustus, is preserved to us: "for the power of Rome and the perpetuity of the Mysteries."⁵⁴ It is the eternal being, the ruler of the universe, without beginning and without end,



Fig. 17. Fragmentary
Marble Statue
in Arles

who was, is, and will be, the immutable and perpetual creator of the phenomena of nature. The wheel, which signifies the endless renewal of the phenomena of nature, is a symbol entirely akin to the circle of the Zodiac, indissolubly associated with the cult of Mithras. Sometimes we see the whole circle of the Zodiac surrounding the representation of the tauroktonos deity.⁵⁵ Elsewhere, especially on the large reliefs of Germany, the twelve signs of the Zodiac are carved around the arched upper border of the cave where the bull is immolated: this cave was considered as representing the world, and its border was consequently a symbol of the heavenly vault. We do not wonder, therefore, if the signs of the Zodiac are introduced into the representation of the lion-headed monster symbolizing the Mithriac god of Time, to signify that the sun in its ecliptic successively passes through the twelve constellations. On the fine fragmentary statue at Arles (Fig. 17) all the twelve signs are visible between the coils of the serpent surrounding its body, and probably hinting at the sinuous course of the sun through the sky, while only four signs appear on the statue, also mutilated, in the Vatican Library.⁵⁶ Another curious sculpture, found in the Mithreum of Housestead (Borcovicus) in Northern England⁵⁷ (Fig. 18) calls even more sharply to mind the monuments we are dealing with. Here within

the ring of the Zodiac the naked torso of Mithras, worked in the round, holding the knife and the flaming torch, appears between the two halves of a sphere or of an egg, one half beneath his waist and the other above his head. But in the confluence of ideas and symbols which characterizes the religious syncretism of late antiquity, the symbolism of Mithras passes to other religions and other mysteries as well. Other

⁵⁴ Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscr. Graec.*³ (Leipzig, 1920), no. 1125; Cumont, *loc. cit.*, p. 280; Nock, *loc. cit.*, p. 83, note 97.

⁵⁵ E. g., Cumont, *Textes et Mon.*, II, no. 220, fig. 192; no. 267, p. 389, fig. 304, etc. See moreover the relief from Salona in Spalato, Bulić, *Bullettino di Arch. e Storia Dalmata*, XXXII, 1909, pp. 50 ff., pl. VII, 2. Cf. Fritz Saxl, *Mithras* (Berlin, 1931), p. 53, and fig. 141, pl. 27. Saxl, *ibid.*, pp. 95 f., believes that the circular representation of the Zodiac around the god is a Greek invention.

⁵⁶ Cumont, *Textes et Mon.*, I, p. 80; II, no. 281, p. 403, fig. 325; no. 37, p. 213, figs. 43-44.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, II, no. 273, p. 395, fig. 315; Saxl, *Mithras*, fig. 159, pl. 29.

deities⁵⁸ can now be represented in the Zodiacal ring as astral divinities. Similar representations not only express the eternity of their evolution and their rule over the sky, but also—because of the wide expansion of the astrological doctrines, spread through-



Fig. 18. Stone Sculpture from the Mithreum of Borcovicus (Housestead) in Northern England

out Egypt especially by the teachings of Hermes Trismegistus—their rule over all nature submitted to the influence of the stars. So Helios on his quadriga may be surrounded by the Zodiac, or some single signs of the Zodiac may be placed in an arc behind his carriage or be represented on the shoulder-belt crossing the breast of a

⁵⁸ See Cumont, *s. v.* Zodiacus, in Daremberg-Saglio, *Dict. des Antiquités Gr. et Rom.*, V, 1919, pp. 1056 f.

statue of the Sun.⁵⁹ Elsewhere, on Alexandrian coins and gems, we may find in the center of the Zodiac the bust of Sarapis, or the busts of Sarapis and Isis, or those of Helios and Selene, and even the figure of Pan—risen to the rank of a panthean deity in stoic philosophy thanks to a pun on his name—playing his flute, with a probable allusion to the harmony of the spheres. The eternal renewal of the cycles of human life is the obvious meaning of the famous coin struck at Alexandria in A.D. 138-139 by Antoninus Pius on the occasion of the beginning of a new Sothic cycle (Fig. 19 *a*): the planets are depicted around the bust of Sarapis, and the ring of the Zodiac in an outer circle.⁶⁰ In the same connection may be classified probably also another Alexandrian coin of the same Emperor (Fig. 19 *b*), where the inscription ΑΙΩΝ surrounds an image of the Phoenix, symbolically representing the renewal of human life.⁶¹ The relations between the supreme and immortal divinity and the destinies of the mortal beings appear even more clearly on the coin struck at Nicaea in Bithynia (Fig. 19 *c*), where Zeus, seated on his throne within the ring of the Zodiac, is flanked by the carriages of the Sun and the Moon, and dominates the figures of the Earth and the Ocean lying at his feet:⁶² a compendious representation which immediately recalls the symbolism used for Cybele on the Parabiago *lanx*. Finally the youthful image of Aion himself appears on another coin (Fig. 19 *e*),⁶³ this time standing within the wheel with an aspect and an attitude practically identical to those of the god of the Parabiago plate, the mantle falling from the shoulder behind the naked body, but holding in the left hand, instead of the sceptre, a globe on which the Phoenix rests. The coin, which has passed from the Montagu Collection to the British Museum, is an *aureus* struck by Hadrian during his third consulate (A.D. 119-138), on which the Greek name of the god is translated into one of its Latin equivalents, *Saeculum*: *Sacc(ulum) aur(eum)*. But the artistic representation of the Zodiac, following the same process

⁵⁹ Thus on the famous Vatican torso, see Rapp, *s.v.* Helios, in Roscher's *Lexikon*, fig. on col. 2002.

⁶⁰ Head, *Historia Numorum*², 1911, p. 863; Cumont, in Daremberg-Saglio, *loc. cit.*, p. 1049, fig. 7588.

⁶¹ Brit. Mus., *Cat. of Greek Coins, Alexandria*, pl. XXVI, 1004; F. Imhoof-Blumer and O. Keller, *Tier- u. Pflanzenbilder auf Münzen u. Gemmen* (Leipzig, 1889), pl. XII, 24; J. Vogt, *Die Alexandrinischen Münzen*, I (Stuttgart, 1924), p. 115. As regards the meaning of the symbol of the Phoenix and its most important representations, see the imposing mosaic from Antioch in the center of which again the Phoenix stands on top of a rock, *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, II (Princeton, 1938), pl. 43; J. Lassus, "La Mosaique du Phénix," in *Mon. Piot*, XXXVI, 1938, pp. 81 ff., pl. V.

⁶² Cumont, in Daremberg-Saglio, *loc. cit.*, p. 1057, fig. 7597; see on other similar coins *ibid.*, note 7; also A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, I (Cambridge, 1914), pp. 752 ff., figs. 551 ff.; and the Thracian coin, Saxl, *Mithras*, fig. 196, pl. 35, our Fig. 19 *d*.

⁶³ P. Strack, *Untersuchungen zur römischen Reichsprägung des zweiten Jahrhunderts*, II (Stuttgart, 1933), pp. 100 ff., pl. I, 78; H. Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the Brit. Mus.*, III (London, 1936), pp. cxxxi f., p. 278, no. 312, pl. 52, 10; Albizzati, *loc. cit.*, p. 190, note 2, pl. 2, 2. On coins of Faustina, *Aeternitas* holds the Phoenix upon a globe: see Mattingly, *op. cit.*, IV, 1940, p. lxxxiii.

which we have noticed for the word Aion in the language, may finally, devoid of practically all its philosophical and religious content, express by itself merely the concept of Eternity: so in a bronze medallion struck by Hadrian for the apotheosis



Fig. 19. Coins: (a) Antoninus Pius (Alexandria, A.D. 138-139), with Zodiac around Bust of Sarapis; (b) Antoninus Pius (Alexandria), with AION around Phoenix; (c) Nicaea (Bithynia), with Zodiac around Zeus; (d) Thracia, Type as c; (e) Aureus of Hadrian, with Aion (Saeculum Aureum) within the wheel, holding Globe Surmounted by Phoenix

of Trajan, where the latter Emperor is represented probably in the attitude of Zeus, seated and surrounded by the Zodiac.⁶⁴ In the same way, later, the two busts of the dead couple appear within the Zodiac on the Barberini sarcophagus of the Bliss Col-

⁶⁴ F. Gnechchi, *I Medaglioni romani*, III (Milan, 1912), no. 105, pl. 147, 3-4 (two specimens, in Padua and Copenhagen).

lection at Dumbarton Oaks in Washington;⁶⁵ beneath are putti as vintagers, on the sides are the personifications of the four Seasons. The Seasons, the divisions of Time in its relationship with human life, belong to Mithriac symbolism. Representations of the Zodiac were often painted on the walls of Mithriac temples, while sometimes the signs of the Zodiac, worked separately in bronze, were applied to the walls. These in some cases were grouped three by three, according to the seasons. We have mentioned above a statue of the lion-headed demon adorned with four signs of the Zodiac: these are the signs of the months of the solstices and equinoxes, that is, of the beginnings of the seasons. The Seasons themselves are represented on a conspicuous number of Mithriac monuments.⁶⁶ With the Seasons often the Winds are associated, each of which was considered to rule over a period of the year and to determine the climatic conditions to which a season was submitted. We have mentioned before the tradition of Philo according to which Aion himself was a son of the wind god Kolpias; Aion is invoked, moreover, as god of the four winds in magical texts.⁶⁷ This is the reason for the conspicuous presence of the Seasons on all our three representations of the god of the Zodiac: Summer and Spring are indeed, in all probability, the two preserved figures in the mosaic from Hippo.⁶⁸ In the mosaic from Sentinum the opposition between human time and the god of astral eternity is stressed even more by grouping at his feet the four putti of the seasons around the figure of the reclining Tellus. Finally on the *lanx* from Parabiago we find again the complete symbolism we have noticed before on the coin of Nicaea, not in direct relation to Aion, but to the gods of the mysteries, Cybele and Attis, as it is to the supreme astral god on the coin. In the mosaic of Hippo the god of the Zodiac, standing outside the ring he is moving with his right hand, holds in his left a horn of abundance the mouth of which is full of grapes; a vine branch with bunches of grapes spreads beyond the Zodiac along the edge on the left of the scene, while colored flowers and twigs are in the field on the right. This does not compel us necessarily to identify the divine youth with Dionysos,

⁶⁵ E. Strong, *Apotheosis and After Life* (London, 1915), pl. XXXII; H. Kähler, *Zwei Sockel eines Triumphbogens im Boboligarten zu Florenz*, 96. Berlin. *Winckelmannsprogramm*, 1936, p. 31, fig. 20; R. Hinks, *Myth and Allegory in Ancient Art* (*Studies of the Warburg Institute*, vol. VI), London, 1939, pl. 6. A comprehensive study on this monument by G. Hanfmann is soon to appear.

⁶⁶ Cumont, *Textes et Mon.*, I, pp. 92 f.

⁶⁷ Thus on the Leiden papyrus, *Pap. Gr. Mag.*, XII, 238 (vol. II, p. 74). The winds may refer to a quite different symbolism, both in Mithriac and in other mystic religions. See their representation, e. g., in the Palermo mosaic of which I have recently tried to demonstrate the symbolic meaning referring to mystic doctrines, in *Berytus*, VII, 1942, pp. 47 f., pls. V and VI, 2-3. On this quite different symbolism of the winds cf. Saxl, *Mithras*, p. 79.

⁶⁸ The theatrical masks represented on this mosaic between the Seasons might be an allusion to the masks used in the mysteries of Mithras and in other religious mysteries: see Cumont, *Textes et Mon.*, I, pp. 315 f. Elsewhere masks allude undoubtedly to the stars: so e. g., above the edge of the great altar at Carnuntum around which the Seasons and the Winds are represented, together with Coelus supporting the vault of the firmament: see *ibid.*, II, no. 228 bis, c, p. 496, figs. 432 ff.

represented as a solar god, the dispenser of the fruit of the year: the same meaning indeed is possessed also by the Mithriac deity of Time, who, while bringing the succession of the various seasons, is at the same time the fecundating god—or on the contrary the destructive god—who brings to maturity the fruit of earth and devours it, according to another passage of the *Mythographus Vaticanus* quoted before.⁶⁹ To this god is given the name Frugifer, which identifies him with the strange divinity of Saeculum Frugifer worshiped especially at Hadrumetum in Africa and represented on numerous imperial coins, a divinity which is nothing else but a not completely disguised Romanization of the Punic Baal: another confirmation of the confluence into the Mithriac religion of Mazdeian and Semitic elements, like the assimilation of the Phoenician Baal Shamin by Aion in the cosmogony of Philo we have mentioned above.⁷⁰

On the plate from Parabiago the figure within the Zodiac holds the scepter, an attribute which we have seen also in the hands of the lion-headed demon. He is flanked by a serpent winding around an obelisk: the bethel is in the Mithriac legend an obvious allusion to the god's birth from a rock, *θεὸς ἐκ πέτρας*. Such a rock, besides often appearing associated with the god in his representations, was worshipped in the form of a conical stele in his sanctuaries; some original specimens were found in the Mithrea, and several of them are surrounded by the serpent.⁷¹ We have seen, however, that the serpent⁷² became also the unfailing attribute of the demon of Time in Mithriac mythology; as such we have seen it also completely detached from the demon's body, and in one case winding about a crater, an object around which it appears also on numerous Mithriac representations. This represented in the Mithrea, according to information by Porphyrius, the source springing from the cave originally consecrated to the cult of Zoroaster.⁷³ On the Parabiago plate, finally, the god of the Zodiac is supported by a naked torso of Atlas, the "faultless Titan," who in fact, according to the Orphic doctrines, had not participated with his brothers in Zagreus' slaughter (see Kern, *Orphic. Fragm.* no. 215, pp. 235 f.). The Hellenic bearer of the heavenly globe is a motif which was introduced in fact into the Mithriac symbolism and into the oriental religions, where the figure of the Titan appears as an image of the Mithriac deity of Caelus. Similarly in the Mithriac mythology is mentioned a

⁶⁹ Annuam fecunditatem atque proventum omnium devorat frugum: Cumont, *Textes et Mon.*, II, p. 53, line 11.

⁷⁰ See Nock, *loc. cit.*, pp. 86 f. Also this quality of Aion as the inventor of nourishment with fruit recalls the mythology of Mithras, who immediately after his birth is said to have picked leaves and fruit from a tree.

⁷¹ Cumont, *Textes et Mon.*, I, p. 160, note 1. Cf. also Saxl, *Mithras*, figs. 155-161, pl. 29.

⁷² On the serpent in Mithriac iconography see Saxl, *op. cit.*, pp. 60 ff. Cf. also E. Swoboda, "Die Schlange im Mithraskult," *Öst. Jahreshefte*, XXX, 1936-7, pp. 1 ff.

⁷³ Παρὰ τῷ Μίθρᾳ ὁ κρατὴρ ἀντὶ τῆς πηγῆς τέτακται: *De antro nympharum*, 17, ed. Nauck (Leipzig, 1886), p. 69. See Cumont, *Textes et Mon.*, II, p. 40, c. On the snake around the crater, cf. G. W. Elderkin, *Kantharos* (Princeton, 1924), pp. 9, 37; Saxl, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

gigantic angel who sustains the firmament on his shoulders (*᾽Ωμοφόρος*), while to Atlas apparently even a cult was dedicated in the Syrian religion, since a statue to him is mentioned in the temple at Hierapolis.⁷⁴ The Titan's image does not appear only on our Italic object dedicated to the mysteries of Cybele, but sometimes also in the repertory of the usual Mithriac representations: he raises a large sphere on his shoulders, for instance, on the big relief at Osterburken near the Roman *limes* of Upper Germany, while, nude and bent forward, he supports only the cornice of the altar of Carnuntum in Pannonia.⁷⁵ Elsewhere, however, the classical iconography is not accepted by the oriental repertory in its integrity, but Atlas' image puts on oriental garments: so, for instance, on the relief of Neuenheim,⁷⁶ where a figure in oriental costume and wearing a Phrygian cap lifts with upstretched arms not the heavenly sphere but a disc, that is, the disc of the Zodiac like that sustained by Atlas on the sculpture at Villa Albani.⁷⁷ Atlas, finally, is described as supporting a disc surrounding the image of a child in the *ἑκφρασις* by John of Gaza. Friedländer correctly asserts⁷⁸ that nowhere else, either in literature or in art, does Atlas lift the disc of the sun. But here too we do not gather from the poet's words⁷⁹ that it is a question of the solar disc, but rather of the sphere of the universe, evidently represented as a ring—and perhaps as the ring of the Zodiac—in order to leave free space in the center for the divine being. And the child in the center does not necessarily represent the rising sun,

⁷⁴ Lucian, *De Syria dea*, 38: μετὰ δὲ τὸν ᾽Απόλλωνα ξόανόν ἐστιν ᾽Ατλαντος.

⁷⁵ Cumont, *Textes et Mon.*, I, pp. 90 f.; II, no. 246 e, 2, p. 349, pl. VI; no. 228 bis, c, 1, p. 497, fig. 432. See the first monument also in Saxl, *Mithras*, fig. 83, pl. 15.

⁷⁶ Cumont, *Textes et Mon.*, II, no. 245 d, 1, p. 346, pl. V.

⁷⁷ G. Thiele, *Antike Himmelsbilder* (Berlin, 1898), p. 25, fig. 3; Helbig, *Führer*², II, p. 458, no. 1929.

⁷⁸ *Op. cit.*, pp. 175 f.

⁷⁹ That the reader may check this affirmation I give here the translation of the principal passages of this description, a translation in which I sometimes differ from Friedländer's interpretation.

96 ff.: In order to raise his fiery burden Atlas stands stooped, holding near his temples the life-prolonging sparks, bending his head aside and with his hands uplifted, his neck turned sideways, stretching his tired limbs, taking care thus to lighten his load. As though equipped for toil he is lightly-clad, covered only by a kilt around his waist.

107 ff.: . . . the governing Word curved the sky as an endless sphere, and by the will of the same Word the earth is suspended within it as the center of the sphere. From the north stands unshaken its axis, equally balanced, rectilinear, supporting nature, piercing the sphere from pole to pole and affixed to both poles. Upright, it pins the earth and holds it tight, and Atlas in his enduring and tireless eternal strength stands as this steadfast axis. The tips of the axis are fixed in the fiery pole near the southern end and in the dry frozen vault of the north. The starry pole of the North which is always visible in the luminous rotations of the supernal sphere they call the right pole, and the fiery south pole near to the ground bare of stars, which runs invisibly, the left pole. . . .

126 ff.: But also the wanderer son of glowing Orient, Phaethon the bringer of light, established the generation of Harmony; and giving heed to the center of the intellectually perceptible wheel of the world, with his generative spark he keeps everything flowing around. . . .

134 ff.: . . . they fixed a disc to the axis so that Atlas rooted in the ground might the better attend constantly to lifting the prince of ether, himself driving the world's charioteer.

but rather perhaps the cosmic deity, such as the child Mithras appearing in the center of the zodiacal disc on the Mithriac relief of Trier⁸⁰ (Fig. 20).

We have thus cleared the way to consider another famous and much discussed image of a god in the Zodiac, which differs from those examined before inasmuch as he does not turn the wheel of the Zodiac, but only stands in a majestic attitude within it; this is the relief in Modena (Fig. 16).⁸¹ The strange deity shows his beautiful and youthful body in full nakedness, and an imperious and thoughtful head certainly derived from a solar image, while only his bull or goat hoofs depart from human nature. The body, provided with wings, is wrapped about with snake coils, and the tips of a moon-crescent protrude from his shoulders. The god holds the scepter and the thunderbolt; flames rise toward the sky from the two halves of a sphere or a cone placed beneath his feet and over his head; the head of the serpent wound around his body rests on the front of the upper hemisphere. A lion's mask is repre-

⁸⁰ S. Loeschke, *Die Erforschung des Tempelbezirkes im Altbachtale zu Trier* (Berlin, 1928), p. 16, fig. 28; *id.*, "Bedeutung u. Gefährdung der grossen Tempelgrabung in Trier," from *Trierer Zeitschrift*, IV, 1929, p. 16 and p. 36, pl. IV; Saxl, *Mithras*, p. 96, fig. 199, pl. 35; A. Levi, *La Patera di Parabiago*, pl. V, 2. As regards the excavation of the sanctuary near Trier, see now the first fascicule of the final publication, S. Loeschke, *Der Tempelbezirk im Altbachtale zu Trier*, I (Berlin, 1938). On this monument, contrary to the description of the painting in Gaza, only the child's bust is represented, naked and wearing the Mithriac Phrygian cap, whose outstretched right hand supports the ring of the Zodiac while the left holds the sphere of the world. A position of the god in the Zodiac more resembling that of the Gaza painting appears on the Borcovicus sculpture we mentioned above (Fig. 18), where the god stretches both arms sideways so as to reach the ring of the Zodiac. His hands, in fact, hold the divine attributes, which however are almost concealed against the edge of the Zodiac, and might have escaped the attention of the poet. A similar position recurs elsewhere for the figure of Mithras being born: so, e. g., on the sculpture from the Mithreum of Alt-Ofen near Budapest, Cumont, *Textes et Mon.*, II, no. 213 d, p. 322, fig. 187; Saxl, *Mithras*, fig. 161, pl. 29. We remark that, as a matter of fact, in John's text the name Helios never does appear. To the divinity of the disc of the universe is often applied the epithet Phaethon, which not only can be justified by the equation Mithras = Sun, but which is used indeed for Mithras by Nonnus, the primary source of John's poetry (see 'Ἀσσύριος Φαέθων, *Dionys.*, XXI, 249 [or 251]); the same epithet can be used also for the Orphic primeval deity: Πρωτογόνος Φαέθων, *Orph. fragm.* 57, Abel, *Orphica*, p. 175). The position and the attitude of the child within the Zodiac in the Trier relief hint at the birth of the young Sun at the beginning of the year (see Saxl, *Mithras*, pp. 96 f.): the relief contains, in other words, a symbolism very similar to that attributed by John (lines 56 ff.) to the childish figure supported by Atlas in the Gaza painting.

Also the terms used for the object lifted by Atlas do not fit better the image of the sun's disc than that of the sphere of the universe. Sometimes (e. g., in line 66) the word disc is used. Elsewhere (line 53) it is called κώνος ἀερισπότητος, "the high-soaring cone." Its flame (φλόξ) is related, in lines 69 f., to the πόλος, and a similar image is that in line 95, αἴγλη οὐρανόθεν λαμπτήρος.

⁸¹ See especially Cavedoni, in *Atti e memorie della Deputazione di storia patria per Modena e Parma*, I, 1863, pp. 1 ff.; F. Cumont, *Rev. Arch.*, XI, 1902, I, pp. 1 ff., pl. 1; *eundem*, *Les Mystères de Mithra* (Bruxelles, 1913), p. 109, fig. 12; R. Eisler, *Weltenmantel u. Himmelszelt*, II (Munich, 1910), p. 400, fig. 47; *eundem*, *Orpheus-the-Fisher* (London, 1921), pl. V; Deubner, *Röm. Mitt.*, XXVII, 1912, p. 18, note 5; Aldo Levi, *La Patera di Parabiago*, p. 9, note 29, pl. V, 1; F. Cumont, *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, CIX, 1934, pp. 63 ff.; Albizzati, *loc. cit.*, pp. 192 ff., pl. 1; Doro Levi in *Berytus*, VII, 1942, p. 48, note 133.

sented on the god's breast, and the heads of a ram and a goat project from his sides. The old and ingenious interpretation by Cavedoni, who recognized in this image the



Fig. 20. The Birth of Mithras in the Zodiac,
Relief from a Mithreum near Trier

image of Phanes as described in the *Theogonia*, by Hieronymos and Hellanikos (Kern, *Orphicorum Fragmenta*, no. 54, pp. 130 ff.), which contains the closest points of resemblance to our relief. It was obviously derived, as Cumont has noticed, from the

Orphic god Phanes born from the cosmic egg,⁸² reinforced with new arguments by Eisler and L. Deubner, still prevails. On the other hand, the monuments we have examined before, support also Cumont's comparison of this image to the Mithriac god of Time. The explanation was provided to Cumont himself by the recent discovery of three Greek Mithriac inscriptions under the slopes of the Aventine near the Tiber. All three are dedications to "Zeus Helios Mithras." In one of them the identification of divinities of different origins proceeds further; this is dedicated "Διὶ Ἡλίῳ Μίθρα Φάνητι. . . ." Here for the first time the introduction of Orphic doctrines into the mysteries of the Persian god is explicitly and unmistakably attested. Since Mithras and Phanes were confused into one and the same supreme deity, and since the religious exegesis was applied to assimilate the qualities of the two gods and to conciliate the differences of the two sacred traditions, it is no wonder that we often remain uncertain how to interpret some artistic monuments. The youthful image of the Modena relief is at the same time Mithras and Phanes. Moreover, the assimilation of elements and attributes does not stop here. The serpent surrounding the body of the god does not belong to the

⁸² On the cosmic egg, and the recent studies on this subject, see I. M. Linforth, *The Arts of Orpheus*, 1941, p. 226, note 25. On the assimilation of Mithras with Phanes, and the confusion of the sphere or the rock of Mithras' birth with the cosmic egg (perhaps, e.g., on the Borcovicus sculpture), see Saxl, *Mithras*, p. 73, p. 74, note 1.

Mithriac statues of Aion we have examined before. In fact, in the same way as we have previously seen the identification of Aion with the supreme Sun-God, in the Orphic texts Phanes is described as having an aspect entirely similar to that of Chronos, by whom he was begotten. The same contamination of different deities and legends and confusion of heterogeneous elements appear also on other monuments. We have seen the two halves of the cosmic egg or sphere above and beneath the bust of Mithras-Phanes on the sculpture from the Mithreum of Borcovicus (Fig. 18), and the lower hemisphere under other representations of the Mithriac "Chronos," especially under the bearded image on the *φυλακτήριον* of the Naturhistorisches Museum in Vienna (Fig. 10) perfectly suitable for Aion-Chronos, but not at all becoming to the figure of Phanes coming to life. We have seen the lion-headed demon holding the attributes of the supreme command, and we have noticed on its body the signs of the Zodiac symbolizing its rule over the seasons. In the same way, probably, on our relief the leonine mask is the sign of the Zodiac dominating in midsummer, the ram and the capricorn those presiding over the beginnings of spring and autumn. We have said also that the heads of the winds in the four corners of the relief are related to the conception of the four seasons. The animal hoofs of the god, finally, call to mind, as well as the identification of Phanes with Pan, also the invocations to Aion identified with this god, for the accentuation, we said before, of his character of a panthean deity. A fortunate discovery of recent years, indeed, presents us with one of the monstrous images of Chronos-Aion we have often mentioned before, but this time standing on sheep's legs and hoofs (Fig. 5).⁸³

The disc of the Zodiac, we were saying, replaces sometimes the sphere of the universe on Atlas' shoulders. If indeed the disc of the Zodiac is the fittest image of the wheel of Time, both as a representation of the rotation of the sky determined by eternal laws and of the first Cause generating and renewing human destinies, on the other hand the heavenly sphere is another obvious attribute of that first Cause, the globe which is the Empyrean where it has its residence.⁸⁴ Zervan-Τύχη,⁸⁵ the primeval Cause that rules over human destinies through the rotation of the planets and the revolution of the Zodiac, as early as in the Avesta is usually associated in

⁸³ This is a relief discovered during the last excavations at Oxyrhynchos in Egypt by the Italian Society of Florence: see E. Breccia, "Un 'Cronos Mitriaco' ad Oxyrhynchos," *Mélanges Maspéro*, II (*Mémoires de l'Inst. français d'Archéol. orientale du Caire*, LXVII), Cairo, 1934-37, pp. 257 ff., pl. The statue, similar in all other details to the other specimens of the Mithriac demon, shows higher artistic qualities than usual. A rayed halo appears behind the lion's head; keys and sceptre are held in its hands, from which, furthermore, two snakes creep down, one on each side, to lick respectively a flaming altar and the usual Mithriac crater on the ground. The monstrous tongue develops into another serpent reaching the small altar. Between the two wings of the right side are represented a small lion and a star.

⁸⁴ Cumont, *Textes et Mon.*, I, pp. 85 ff.

⁸⁵ According to Theodorus of Mopsuestia: Ζορονάμ, . . ὃν καὶ Τύχην καλεῖ (Photius, *Bibl.* 81; ed. Bekker, I, Berlin, 1824, p. 63).

invocations with the sovereign Heaven; in Firdousi fate is still represented sometimes by the image of Heaven, sometimes by that of Time. Ahura-Mazda was for ancient Persians "the eternal circle of Heaven": consequent, therefore, is the increasing identification, caused by astrological speculation, of this concept of the eternal Heaven with that of Zervan, the infinite Time ruling over the upper spheres. Thus Ahura-Mazda is invoked in Latin as *Caelus aeternus Iupiter*; and other allegorical representations of the Mithriac Caelus occur in the form of an eagle leaning over the heavenly sphere, adorned with the signs of the planets or with the zodiacal ring. The intermediate nature of χρόνος between the infinite time and the determination of time through the influence of the sky, is repeatedly the object of the Western philosophical speculation.⁸⁶ We are not surprised, consequently, when we find⁸⁷ the lion-headed demon (which we have seen associated with the signs of the Zodiac) standing on the sphere of the globe, either smooth or adorned with the two crossing bands of the Zodiac and the milky-way,⁸⁸ or otherwise on a hemisphere adorned with a moon-crescent. But it is Aion who is described in this position in the magic papyrus of Berlin: ἀκινοκράτωρ, αἰωνοπολοκράτωρ, ἐπὶ τοῦ ἑπταμερίου σταθείς.⁸⁹ Elsewhere in the same papyrus⁹⁰ a figure, named Sol-Horus, is described as the decoration of an amulet, and presents the form of the lion-headed demon we know well by now, its body wound about by the coils of a serpent biting its own tail. He holds on his left hand the world's sphere and in his right the whip of the Egyptian gods. Shortly after this passage (line 164), the invocation again identifies the divinity with Aion: δεῦρό μοι, βασιλεῦ, . . . θεὸν θεῶν ἰσχυρόν, ἀπέραντον, ἀμίαντον, ἀδιήγητον, Αἰῶνα κατεστηριγ- [μ]ένον. . . . Nor should we be surprised to find again the world's globe held by the solar deity in his quality of Kosmokrator in Western representations, and not only in a relief from the Esquiline belonging to the repertory of a Mithreum,⁹¹ but also in an earlier Pompeian fresco from the Casa di Apolline (Fig. 21).⁹² On both these

⁸⁶ . . . ἡ τοῦ χρόνου φύσις, ὥς φησιν . . . ὁ θεὸς Ἰάμβλιχος . . . μέση ἐστὶν αἰῶνος καὶ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τοῦ μὲν ἡγείται, τῷ δὲ ἀφομοιοῦται: Proclus Diad., *In Platonis Timaeum* 38 b; ed. Diehl, III (Leipzig, 1906), p. 51.

⁸⁷ Cumont, *Textes et Mon.*, II, no. 10 a, p. 196, fig. 21; no. 35, p. 214, fig. 41; no. 39, p. 215, fig. 46; no. 40, p. 216, fig. 47.

⁸⁸ On the meaning of the two λοξοὶ κύκλοι see Cumont, *Textes et Mon.*, I, p. 89, note 5; *Röm. Mitt.*, LI, 1936, pp. 55 f.

⁸⁹ *Pap. Gr. Mag.*, I, 203 (vol. I, p. 12). In the great Paris magic papyrus (*ibid.*, I, p. 147, lines 2373 ff.) is described another effective amulet, "which Hermes created for the wandering Isis," useful in magic operations for the benefit of the house or workshop: it is a waxen figurine representing a pilgrim holding his stick and his bag, standing on a ball around which a snake winds; another snake creeps along his stick. The figure must wear a περίζωμα which calls to our mind the garment of the god on the Roman relief of Aion and Kore, Fig. 6.

⁹⁰ *Pap. Gr. Mag.*, I, p. 10, line 144: ἐστὶν δὲ ὁ γλυφόμενος εἰς τὸν λίθον Ἡλῖωρος ἀνδρ[ιὰς] λεοντο-πρόσωπος, τῇ μὲν ὀριστερᾷ χειρὶ κρατῶν πόλον καὶ μαστίχα, κυκλεῖ δὲ αὐτοῦ δράκοντα οὐροφόρον . . .

⁹¹ Cumont, *Textes et Mon.*, II, no. 18 b, p. 202, fig. 29; Saxl, *Mithras*, fig. 88, pl. 17.

⁹² S. Reinach, *Rép. de peintures*, p. 24, 9; A. Schlachter, *Der Globus* (Στοιχεῖα, fasc. VIII, 1927), p. 99, fig. on p. 106; *Röm. Mitt.*, LI, 1936, p. 57, fig. 8.

monuments the solar god holds in his other hand also the second attribute described for the magic amulet. This also occurs on the coins dedicated to the cult of Sol Invictus



Fig. 21. Helios as Kosmokrator, Pompeian Fresco from the Casa di Apolline

introduced into Rome from the East, and not before the third century after Christ, to be precise first by Elagabalus and later again by Aurelian.⁹³ This whip may be, as

⁹³ Cf. M. Bernhart, *Handbuch zur Münzkunde der röm. Kaiserzeit* (Halle, 1926), p. 68, p. 235. See also the Syrian bronze coin, or *tessera*, from Damascus in Berlin, Reitzenstein, *Das iranische Erlösungsmysterium*, p. 215, note 2: it is datable about A.D. 300, and represents on one side the radiated bust of the sun holding the heavenly sphere in the right and the whip in the left, on the other the bust of the moon with the torch and with a crescent on the forehead; the inscriptions

generally interpreted, a mere abbreviation of an element belonging to the Western iconography, peculiar to Sol as a charioteer. On the other hand, it may well be a derivation from the image of the cosmic god of Egypt and of the East.⁹⁴ As a matter of fact, symbols and attributes becoming to the supreme deity of the Eastern religions could not meet any difficulty in being applied to the representations of the eclectic doctrines which spread throughout the late classical world. Similar symbols and attributes were familiar indeed as early as the time of the pre-Socratic philosophers to express the ideas referring to the divinity. To god, the primeval being, without a beginning and without an end according to Thales' definition, was compared the sphere, which presents the same peculiarities, and before which we see grouped the seven wise men, meditating, on the two well-known mosaics from Torre Annunziata in Naples and from Sarsina in the Villa Albani:⁹⁵

Haec aeterna manet divisque simillima forma,
Cui neque principium est usquam, nec finis in ipsa.

(Manilius, *Astronomica*, I, 211 f.)

Thus are especially defined the peculiarities of the heavenly globe in the exact formulation of Aristotle as against Plato's *Timaeus* (*De caelo*, I, 10, 280 a). And, by antithesis, according to Alcmaeon of Croton (see H. Diels, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*⁵, I [Berlin, 1934], p. 215, fr. 2), men are bound to die because they cannot turn the straight line of life into a circle: *τοὺς ἀνθρώπους φησὶν Ἄ. διὰ τοῦτο ἀπόλλυσθαι, ὅτι οὐ δύνανται τὴν ἀρχὴν τῷ τέλει προσάψαι*. But the identical expressions and formulas pass from pure speculation to cosmogonic and religious doctrines, to the world of magic and of mysteries. Thus in an Orphic hymn Uranus has taken up all the qualities of the supreme god without beginning and without end, the primeval being and creator of everything, which turns around the earth like a sphere.⁹⁶ Almost with the identical words Isis—or rather perhaps Isis assimilated with Aion—is in-

read Ἀνατολή and Δύσις (cf. A. v. Sallet in *Zeitschr. f. Numismatik*, V, 1878, pp. 108 f., p. 350, pl. II, 8). Reitzenstein mentions this coin, in a passage in which he compares Aion to the conception of the two-headed Ianus; Orient and Occident would express here the whole extension of the sky.

⁹⁴ As a matter of fact, as regards the Sol from the Mithreum on the Esquiline, Saxl not only suggests on stylistic grounds the oriental origin of the relief with Mithras tauroktonos from the same find, but proves also that the image of Sol himself because of the gesture of his right hand finds an exact parallel on similar fictile representations of Egyptian provenance, on which indeed the sphere and the whip on the left are replaced by a crocodile: see Saxl, *Mithras*, pp. 30 f., figs. 88-89, pl. 17.

⁹⁵ Schlachter, *op. cit.*, *passim*; O. Brendel, "Symbolik der Kugel," *Röm. Mitt.*, LI, 1936, pp. 1 ff.; pp. 28 ff.

⁹⁶ Οὐρανὸν παγγενέτορ, κόσμον μέρος αἰὲν ἀτειρές, πρεσβυγένηθλ', ἀρχὴ πάντων πάντων τε τελευτή, | κοσμοκράτορ, σφαιρηδὸν ἐλισσόμενος περὶ γαῖαν, | οἴκε θεῶν μακάρων . . . (*Orph. Hymn.*, IV; E. Abel, *Orphica*, 1885, p. 60).

voked in another hymn as the beginning and the end of things, the only and eternal ruler of the world.⁹⁷ Going back to the symbolism in the representations of the sphere, the globe on which the Phoenix is resting on some coins⁹⁸ may replace the inscription AION which we have seen elsewhere associated with the bird symbolizing the renewal of the ages. The evident meaning of the symbol has appeared to us in the *aureus* of Hadrian (Fig. 19 c), in which the globe with the Phoenix is held by the youthful image of *Saeculum* himself, surrounded by the turning wheel. But, in the same way as we have already noticed for the ring of the Zodiac, little by little the symbol of the sphere too becomes devoid of all its original philosophical and religious content; it appears thus on innumerable Roman coins bearing the same meaning as the late meaning of Aion, and merely signifying, like the symbol of Aeternitas, or rather of Aevum, an omen of long life to the Emperor.⁹⁹ Elsewhere in the later iconography the sphere, sometimes crossed by the two bands of the Zodiac and the milky-way, becomes the material image of the heavenly globe: so, for instance, in the image of Urania and in the representations of the Parcae on the sarcophagi depicting the myth of Prometheus.¹⁰⁰ Here the Parcae, standing before the heavenly sphere or before the sundial, have preserved the mere function of reading the horoscope of the newly born child; and to the sphere, of all its former content of thought, only the modest part remains that was tenaciously assured to it, because of its connections with human life, by the superstitious practices of the astrologers.¹⁰¹

In the Pompeian fresco from the Casa di Apolline we have seen the sphere of the cosmic deity of the Gnostics held by a divine figure deriving from the classical iconography. In the same way the marble figure representing the Mithriac god of Time in the Mithreum of Emerita¹⁰² shows a blooming youthful body, surrounded by serpents, and which probably had, as we said before, a human head. But we do not need to adduce the attraction always exerted by the artistic images of the classical world upon the representations of the later syncretistic and mystic religions—an example of which we have mentioned above when speaking of Atlas—in order to explain the youthful aspect of Aion on the monuments where he appears as the god of the

⁹⁷ Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, p. 270: ἀρχὴ καὶ τέλος εἶ, πάντων δὲ σὺ μόνῃ ἀνάσσεις· ἐκ σέο γὰρ πάντ' ἔστι καὶ εἰς Αἰῶνα τελευτᾷ. According to Reitzenstein Isis is here identified with Αἰών; but see Nock, *loc. cit.*, p. 78, on the difficulty of deciding when on these magic formulas it is a question of a personification and when of a common noun.

⁹⁸ Schlachter, *op. cit.*, p. 74, p. 76, pp. 81 ff.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 80 f.; W. Koehler, *Personifikationen abstrakter Begriffe auf röm. Münzen* (Diss. Königsberg, 1910), pp. 23 ff.

¹⁰⁰ Brendel, *loc. cit.*, pp. 89 ff.

¹⁰¹ Cf. W. Gundel, *Beiträge zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der Begriffe Ananke u. Heimarmene* (Giessen, 1914), pp. 71 ff.

¹⁰² *Comptes Rendus de l'Acad. des Inscr. et Belles-Lettres*, 1905, fig. on p. 149; J. R. Mélida, *Cat. Mon. de España, Provincia de Badajoz*, Madrid, 1925, no. 1084, pl. C, fig. 138; R. Menéndez Pidal, *Historia de España*, II, *España Romana*, Madrid, 1935, p. 440, fig. 248.

Zodiac. We may find the explanation from within the mystic religions and the magic literature themselves. In fact, although Aion mostly appears in them in the form of an old man,¹⁰³ we may read, in the *Mythographus Vaticanus III* we have mentioned before, the following passage: Saturnus secundum fabulam cum sit senex posse fieri puer fingitur, quod commentum ab hac re ortum fertur, quod corpus singulis annis senescere in hieme et rivivescere in vere videtur.¹⁰⁴ And Nonnus says similarly¹⁰⁵ that Aion "changes the burden of old age like a snake who sloughs off the coils of the useless old scales, rejuvenescing while washing in the swells of the laws [of time]." The clearest formulation of the conception may be quoted from a still later hymn (IX) by Bishop Synesius of Cyrene:

ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἀγήραος
Αἰὼν ὁ παλαιγενής
νέος ὢν, ἅμα καὶ γέρων. . . .

And the contrast between the current poetical image of Time as a gray-headed old man and his artistic representation is most strikingly confirmed in the ἔκφρασις of John of Gaza, where Aion is indeed called by the stereotyped poetical formula *προπάτωρ*, but is described on the contrary in his picture as a youth in his full bloom, in shining majesty, radiating light from his body as he sits on Olympus.¹⁰⁶ We have thus found as well in literature as in art a convincing confirmation for the interpretation as Aion of the winged and naked youth who lifts on his wings to heaven the imperial couple on the base of Antoninus Pius' column (Fig. 22).¹⁰⁷ Around his left arm winds the serpent which, together with his powerful wings, recalls the lion-headed demon and the images of the oriental religions; and he holds in his left hand the globe, adorned with the Zodiacal ring, the moon, and the stars.

The monuments have thus reflected to us the multiplicity of the conceptions expressed by Aion in thought and religion of late antiquity. On one hand the symbols flowing over to the primeval and supreme god of Time from the religions of the East as well as from the speculations of the West in the doctrines of magic and mysteries, appear crystallized in the lion-headed demon; on the other hand, for the cosmogonic divinity is forged an anthropomorphic image, by which already classical art had visualized the concept of time of Hellenic philosophical speculation, and whose attitudes, attributes, and associations may be derived either from the philosophical thought

¹⁰³ Lackeit, *Aion*, pp. 89 ff.

¹⁰⁴ Cumont, *Textes et Mon.*, II, p. 53, § 8.

¹⁰⁵ *Dionys.*, XLI, 180 ff.: . . . γήραος ἄχθος ἀμείβων, | ὥς ὄφεις ἀδρανέων φολίδων σπείρημα τινάξας, | ἔμπαλιν ἡβήσσει λελουμένος οἶδμασι θεσμῶν. In this passage too Aion is associated with the Horae.

¹⁰⁶ ἀμφιθαλής, line 136; ἀρτιθαλής, line 146; with θαλερὸν δέμας, lines 145, etc. A derivation from Nonnus' poetry is also the image of Aion in his wheel, line 140: ὃς νοερῇ στροφάλυγγι γοιὴν βύτοιο φυλάσσων. . . .

¹⁰⁷ W. Amelung, *Skulpturen des Vatik. Mus.*, I, p. 883, no. 223, pl. 116; L. Deubner, *Röm. Mitt.*, XXVII, 1912, pp. 16 ff.; R. Hinks, *Myth and Allegory*, p. 42, pl. 20.

or from the oriental religions. This may be introduced with its own meaning, by now universally understandable, into a representation of oriental mysteries. It is quite true that in this age Aion is a fluid conception;¹⁰⁸ and no wonder, since we have seen converging to it from the most different sources a multitude of ideas and terms, often

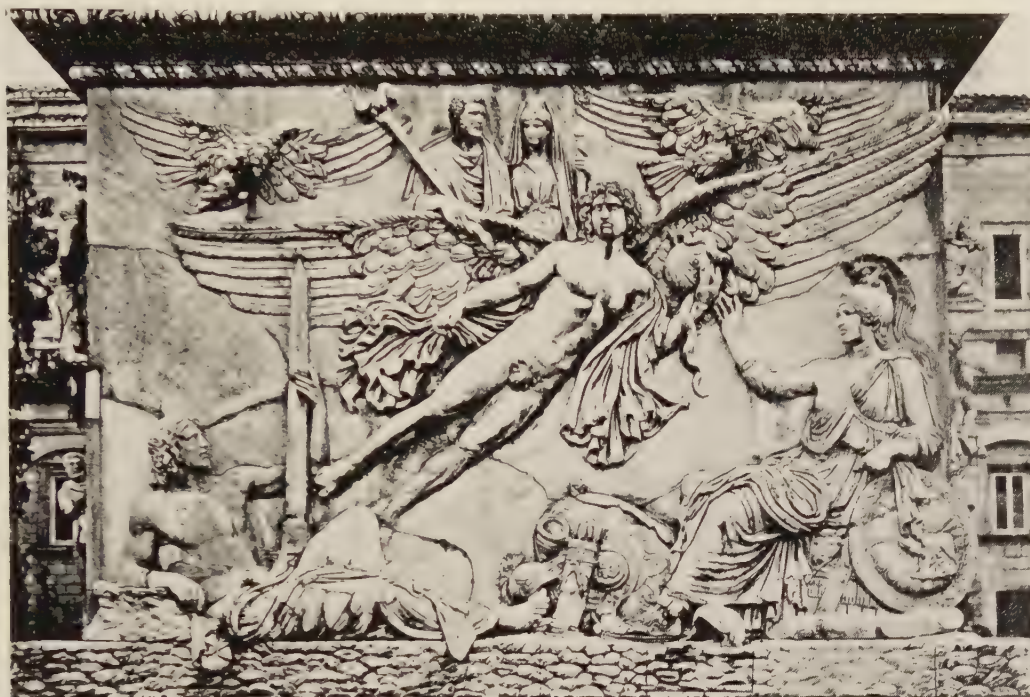


Fig. 22. Aion on the Base of the Column of Antoninus Pius

disagreeing among themselves, from philosophical speculation and from religion, from the East and from the West.¹⁰⁹ The name of Aion may well be used often as a mere attribute, since its essence is nothing else than the first quality from immemorial times assigned by philosophy to the primeval divine being; furthermore Aion is the quality which religion and mysticism assign to the supreme deity, under whatever name he is worshiped. As this first quality of the supreme being Aion himself becomes a god, but he may still be distinguished from the supreme being, whose first born child he is,

¹⁰⁸ This is the point on which Nock especially insists. We shall not entirely follow, however, his most radical conclusions, such as "there was not under the Empire a well-known and influential complex of ideas about Aion" (*loc. cit.*, p. 99); that "it was not a proper *nomen*—hardly an individuality" (p. 84), etc.

¹⁰⁹ "So ist auch die Gestalt des Gottes Aion ein typischer Vertreter der gnostisch-synkretistischen Bewegung, in der sich orientalisch-religiöse Vorstellungen mit der Gedankenwelt der griechischen Philosophie umkleiden und dadurch diese seltsam schillernden Gestalten hervorrufen, deren Wesen uns so schwer fassbar ist": Zepf, *loc. cit.* in note 9, p. 274.

a δεύτερος θεός.¹¹⁰ On the other hand it has appeared to us by all evidence that Aion is not merely a name running from mouth to mouth, but that it has assumed itself by now, in cosmogony as well as in the world of magic, the pantheistic meaning of the supreme and primordial divinity of the mysteries, that Aion has become himself one of the panthean deities of this late syncretistic religion. So much the less shall we be surprised, consequently, when we find used for him adjectives and attributes which occur endlessly also for other deities, which we may rather say are granted practically to each divinity rising to the rank of supreme and panthean deity. If in the magic invocations αἰών may be used certainly as a mere attribute of the god invoked, it appears certain, notwithstanding, that other times Αἰών is the name of one of the divinities identified with the supreme god. Nay, sometimes, the position of his name is specially emphatic, revealing both the great value attributed to its expression in magic practices, and the first rank attributed to it among the denominations of the supreme being, in the same way as the essence of Aion is his first quality.¹¹¹ By Apollo himself Aion is described as the supreme divine being in one of the oracles from Claros: "a fire rising above the cavity of heaven, continuously in movement, infinite." He is invisible even to heavenly powers if he does not want to reveal himself; and his name is unspeakable.¹¹² The same terms occur everywhere in the magic papyri.¹¹³ In the Berlin papyrus describing him standing on the sphere of the universe, he is invoked as the primordial being (προπάτωρ . . . αἰωναῖε Αἰών),¹¹⁴ and in the Leiden papyrus¹¹⁵ he is invoked as παντοκράτωρ θεός, the ruler of the generations, who nourishes and makes everything to prosper, "who has a secret, unpronounceable name." And in fact the identical invocations return in two other magic passages, where, however, the name Aion is not pronounced.¹¹⁶ We have seen before in the great magic papyrus

¹¹⁰ σὺν εἰ ὁ πατήρ τοῦ παλιγενοῦς Αἰῶνος (*Pap. Gr. Mag.*, VII, 510; vol. II, p. 23); and in *Poimandres*: ὁ θεὸς αἰῶνα ποιεῖ, etc. See Lackeit, *op. cit.*, p. 77; Nock, *loc. cit.*, p. 84.

¹¹¹ Thus, e. g., in the Leiden papyrus (*Pap. Gr. Mag.*, XIII, 995; vol. II, p. 129), where this final invocation follows a long series of cryptic formulas: ὁ μέγας, μέγας Αἰών, θεέ, κύριος Αἰών; or in the London papyrus, A. Dieterich, *Abbrasax* (Leipzig, 1891), pp. 68 f.; cf. *Pap. Gr. Mag.*, V, 460 ff. (vol. I, p. 196):

καλῶ σε τὸν κτίσαντα γῆν καὶ οὐρανόν

 ὁ ἀπλάνητος Αἰών, εἰσίκονέ μου.

¹¹² K. Buresch, *Klaros* (Leipzig, 1889), pp. 97 f.:

Ἔσθ', ὑπερουραίου κύτεος καθ' ἑπέρθε λελογχός.
 φλογμὸς ἀπειρέσιος, κινούμενος, ἄπλετος Αἰών . . .
 οὐνομα μηδὲ λόγῳ χωρούμενος, ἐν πυρὶ ναίων, . . .

¹¹³ See Nock, *loc. cit.*, pp. 97 f.

¹¹⁴ *Pap. Gr. Mag.*, I, 201 (vol. I, p. 12).

¹¹⁵ *Pap. Gr. Mag.*, XII, 238 ff. (vol. II, p. 74); XII, 246 ff.: τίς δὲ Αἰὼν Αἰῶνα τρέφων αἰῶσιν ἀνάσσει; εἰς θεὸς ἀθάνατος ("What Aion, nurturing Aion, rules the aiones [ages]? There is one immortal god": transl. by Nock).

¹¹⁶ We have read before another testimony of the ineffability of his name in Suidas' gloss dedicated to Ἡραΐσκος, when dealing with his cult-statue at Alexandria, as well as in the gloss

of Paris the appeal to Aion as the *κοσμοκράτωρ*, and identified with Ra. We have mentioned before also other identifications with the supreme solar god of the Egyptians, and we have seen the mystic deity of Time assume his attributes. In the same way we have noticed the identification of Aion with other pantheistic divinities. We have seen him little by little usurp the place of Kronos-Chronos, and invested with the same peculiarities. In the passage by Suidas where his statue at Alexandria is mentioned, it is affirmed that the Alexandrians identify him with Osiris and Adonis, and in Philo of Byblos the name of Aion covers the image of another Semitic divinity, Baal Shamin. Athenagoras tells us that Isis was considered as "the nature of Aion."¹¹⁷ In other magic texts we find indeed the equation of Isis to Aion and to *Σοφία*: it may be that the magic amulet we have mentioned before with a beggar standing on a sphere "like Isis" hints at this identification.¹¹⁸ The convergence of religious ideas of East and West is noticeable in other identifications. Thus in a passage by Ioh. Lydus (*De mensibus*, IV, 64) Aphrodite's birth from the genitalia of Kronos is explained as her birth from Aion, and in another passage (*ibid.*, IV, 17) one of the Dioscuri is called Aion, and the other Physis: the Twins, indeed, representing life and death, mortality and eternity, have assumed also the significance of the two heavenly hemispheres, and may appear consequently on both sides of our lion-headed demon.¹¹⁹ We have seen, finally, our pantheistic deity as an object of cult, of magic practises and of mystic ceremonies. Beside the cult-statue at Alexandria, we have mentioned the statue of Aion which stood, in the age of Augustus, on the basis of Eleusis on which its dedication was preserved to us.¹²⁰ The qualities of benefactor attributed to Aion in the Eleusinian mysteries, are very similar to those extolled in the invocations of the magic texts. Thus we read, for instance, in a prayer which

Ἐπιφάνιος regarding the ceremonies of the god Aion. We should not wonder, consequently, since we have seen his frequent identification with Chronos, to see this latter name used for the mystic deity showing the characteristics of Zervan in the Orphic theogony of Hieronymus-Hellanicus (O. Kern, *Orphicorum Fragmenta* [Berlin, 1922], p. 130, no. 54; Nock, *loc. cit.*, p. 82, note 96). Here also the appellative Herakles is used, that is, the name of another god also identified often in Eastern-Hellenic mysticism with the solar deities (on this point see Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, s.v. Herakles, Suppl. III, col. 1104; Saxl, *Mithras*, p. 78; and also in my paper, *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, III, 1941, p. 230).

¹¹⁷ *Legatio*, 22, 6 (ed. Ubaldi, p. 101): *ἣν φύσιν αἰῶνος, ἐξ ἧς πάντες ἔφυνσαν καὶ δι' ἣν πάντες εἰσὶν, λέγουσιν.*

¹¹⁸ Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, p. 156, note 1; p. 270; p. 31; *id.*, *Das iranische Erlösungsmysterium*, p. 174. See also Lackeit, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

¹¹⁹ Cumont, *Textes et Mon.*, I, pp. 85 f. In this connection Aeternitas is flanked by the two Dioscuri on coins of the third century after Christ.

¹²⁰ Nothing can be said about the aspect of this image, but that it had perhaps the attribute of a serpent, because the head of a serpent was found next to its base: see *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1887, cols. 112 ff., no. 33. The presence of a serpent would exclude by itself Perdrizet's hypothesis, — very unlikely on other grounds as well, — according to which the statue at Eleusis did not represent the Mithriac and Orphic deity, but the Egyptian bird *Bennou*, the equivalent of the Greek Phoenix: see *Mon. Piot*, XXXIV, 1934, p. 112.

belongs to an interesting small group the purpose of which is to ensure good luck and prosperity to a determined place by way of hiding in it a cult-image or an amulet: *πλουτοδότα Αἰών, ἱερὲ Ἀγαθὲ δαῖμον· τέλει πάσας χάριτας καὶ τὰς σὰς ἐνθέας φήμας*.¹²¹ Indeed the very divine child born in the Eleusinian mysteries is called, in a passage by Saint Hippolytus, *Αἰῶνα Αἰώνων*.¹²² Damascius, in the aforementioned gloss of Suidas on Epiphanius, specifically speaks of these cult ceremonies, when he tells us that Epiphanius and Euprepus were two citizens of Alexandria experienced in different categories of rites, to be precise the latter in Persian ceremonies and the former in those of Osiris as well as in those of the god "who is celebrated as Aion," whose name the writer does not dare to utter. To this god the prayers of the mystes are directed, that he may reveal himself to him in his real aspect.¹²³ The elected men have in themselves the divine *νοῦς*, which inspires in them the desire for a renewed union with the divinity: when the initiate will enter into ecstasy, he will be identified with Aion, and he will then achieve the knowledge of god.¹²⁴ The mystes indeed becomes himself Aion, in the same way as he is transformed into Osiris in the mysteries of Isis, when the initiation is accomplished: "Because today I—being born a mortal from a mortal womb, risen by powerful strength and by an imperishable right hand—I shall contemplate, with immortal eyes, with immortal spirit the immortal Aion, the ruler of the fiery diadems. . . ." ¹²⁵

The god of the mystical vision, who, immobile, moves the celestial spheres, is the same whose image we have recognized in the artistic representation of the ruler of the Zodiac. It is after all the image of the old philosophical and poetical conceptions, which we have already found in Pindar's description of Aion turning the wheel of time, but which is imbued now with a richer religious content and with an astrological meaning as well. The wheel of time moved by the cosmic god has assumed the aspect of the ring of the Zodiac, the symbol of the heavenly spheres, and at the same time the allusion to human destinies dictated by the supreme being and ruled by astral laws, which astrological science can interpret. This is why Aion, the cosmic god, may be identified with the *Εἰμαρμένη*, in the same way as Zervan may be called *Τύχη*, and why Tellus and the seasons, the aspects of time in relationship to humanity, are his un-failing associations. But this artistic type was created only in the late age,¹²⁶ in which

¹²¹ Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, p. 30; *Par. Gr. Mag.*, IV, 3167.

¹²² *Refutatio omnium Haeresium*, V, 8, 45, p. 97, line 19, ed. P. Wendland (Leipzig, 1916); V, 8, 116, p. 166, ed. Duncker and Schneidewin (Göttingen, 1859).

¹²³ Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, p. 23, 4.

¹²⁴ See Lackeit, *op. cit.*, p. 81: *συναύξησον σεαυτὸν τῷ ἀμετρήτῳ μεγέθει, παντὸς σώματος ἐκπηδήσας καὶ πάντα χρόνον ὑπεράσας Αἰὼν γενοῦ, καὶ νοήσεις τὸν θεόν*.

¹²⁵ A. Dieterich, *Eine Mithrasliturgie*³ (ed. by O. Weinreich, 1923), pp. 4, 18 ff.; *Par. Gr. Mag.*, IV, 517 ff.: *ἐπεὶ μέλλω κατοπτεῖν σήμερον τοῖς ἀθανάτοις ὄμμασι, θνητὸς γεννηθεὶς ἐκ θνητῆς ὑστέρης, βεβελτωμένος ὑπὸ κράτους μεγαλοδυνάμου καὶ δεξιᾶς χειρὸς ἀφθάρτου, ἀθανάτῳ πνεύματι τὸν ἀθάνατον Αἰῶνα καὶ δεσπότην τῶν πυρίνων διαδημάτων*. . . .

¹²⁶ Not one of the representations of the god of the Zodiac can be earlier than the second

to the spreading of the oriental religions corresponds the revival of the old philosophical speculations in the schools of the Neopythagoreans and of the Neoplatonics. This is made evident by the fact that the same figure may appear also, in the mosaic of Antioch, devoid of any religious meaning, depicting with the very image provided by the old poetical description a purely philosophical conception. A valuable commentary on this is offered by the mosaic's inscriptions. And if the god of the Zodiac is represented as befits the solar and cosmogonic being, as a blooming and resplendent youth, Aion on the Antioch mosaic, more suitably to the common philosophical and literary image, has the aspect of an old man. But we have said that a youthful image was not excluded even for the representation of the philosophical conception of Aion elaborated by the Neoplatonics, and further that Aion appeared as a youth on the painting described by John of Gaza. From the monuments we have previously examined we have gained much light for a correct interpretation of this poet's passage referring to Aion (lines 137 ff.), of which we may venture now a new translation: "And self-sown Aion was represented in blooming splendor leaning toward another running circle¹²⁷ of the much-whirled years, the forefather, surrounded by the ever-running roads; he, who, preserving the generation in an intellectually perceptible rotation, and lifting the whirling helm of Harmony, herds the year of twelve months turning it around, and causes one year to discharge itself into another, then noiselessly creeps away. . . ." Aion, much as the figure on our mosaic, is sitting on Olympus,

century after Christ. The particular popularity of the concept of Aion in the age of the Antonines is evidenced both by the monuments and by the literary tradition. To this age belongs the only great monument exactly datable, that is, the base of the column of Antoninus Pius. We have seen that in the year 138-139 the name of Aion was associated with the image of the Phoenix on the coins of Antoninus Pius perhaps celebrating the inauguration of a new Sothic cycle. To this age the hymns by Mesomedes belong. Also the creation of this new iconographic type of the god of the Zodiac might seem, consequently, to confirm Nock's conclusion (*loc. cit.*, pp. 95 ff.) that Aion's cult at Alexandria must be an institution of this time as well, and probably due to the same occasion of the coinage. But for this conclusion it is necessary to resort to the *extrema ratio* of considering as an interpolation the passage by Ioh. Lydus containing the reference to Aion's festival on the 5th of January which we have quoted before (*De mens.*, IV, 1). If we accept this passage, we must go at least as far back as the end of the Republican age for the celebration of the festival. And, furthermore, the existence of a mystic cult dedicated to Aion already in the age of Augustus seems to be confirmed by his statue at Eleusis belonging to this age.

In addition to the monuments dealt with above, see also the mention of an amethyst with an inscription probably reading Aion (AION), and the conjecture that on another amulet the inscription *ιαωμ* is isopsephic for *αἰών*, Nock, *loc. cit.*, p. 84, note 103.

¹²⁷ Πόλος is used not only for the heavenly vault, but also for a circle, such as the orbit of a star: see, e.g., Plato, *Epin.*, IX, 986 C: τοῖς δὲ μήτε τινὰ μοῖραν τάττωμεν μήτε τινὰ χρόνον, ἐν ᾧ διεξέρχεται τὸν αὐτοῦ πόλον — "but to none of them let us appoint either a certain lot or a certain time in which it travels through its particular orbit. . . ." In an opposite way, a globe may represent an orbis, like the *orbis anni* (cf. Livy, I, 19, 6: anno qui solstitiali circumagitur orbe) upon which Tellus rests her right hand on some Hadrianic coins; see J. M. C. Toynbee, *The Hadrianic School* (Cambridge, 1934), p. 142, pl. VI, 23.

and probably turning the wheel of Time, but he appears in shining youthful aspect.¹²⁸ He is again differentiated, however, from the supreme and primeval being, who, in form of a solar deity appears as a child rising in the center of the universe, represented by the disc of heaven supported by Atlas' shoulders.

On the mosaic of Antioch we have perhaps an illustration of the arguments of discussion in the intellectual classes of the Antiochene society: a subject of philosophical discussion fit to entertain the nobility of the luxurious town during the sumptuous and everlasting banquets celebrated in the very halls and triclinia which similar mosaics were destined to embellish. The inscriptions of the mosaic seem to present to us the title of an argument for an evening's discussion, corresponding almost exactly to the title of the book of Plotinus' *Enneads* we referred to before: "Περὶ Αἰῶνος καὶ Χρόνου." Beginning from the age to which our mosaic belongs, in fact, the mosaics representing at least single personification of philosophical conceptions, if not complex ideas as that with which we have dealt, multiply themselves in Antioch.¹²⁹ All these may be an illustration of the philosophical movement in the learned and religious metropolis. They may be also, however, a mere testimony of the conceptions which were passing from mouth to mouth, of words which were much in the air, which were used more or less by everybody, *excerpta* of philosophical speculation which together with religious and mystic ideas had passed over, as would often happen, into popular philosophy. In the same way, already much before the time of our mosaic, philosophical doctrines of Orphism are transformed into formulas of popular wisdom in the funeral epigram of Hecataeus in distant Panticapaeum in Crimea.¹³⁰ But perhaps the mosaic of Antioch does not aim to be either exclusively a figured representation of a philosophical speculation, or that of a current conception. Opposite to eternal Time moving the everturning wheel are seated and intent on a solemn religious function the three fugacious times, transient like man's life. For the representation of the various aspects of the conceptions of Time, the artist would be irresistibly lured to bestow upon the image of Aion, together with the characteristics befitting its content of thought, at least the most peculiar attribute it had by now obtained in the artistic repertory. He must be satisfied, on the contrary, to differentiate the other figures—which nowhere else appear to us in ancient art—only

¹²⁸ Lines 145 f.: ἐν γὰρ Ὀλύμπῳ φαιδρὸς ἐφεδρήσσει. . . . The action of moving the wheel by the uplifted hand may have been somewhat indistinct, as it is on many of the similar monuments we are dealing with, especially because of the fact that this hand was holding a group of folds of the mantle. John may easily have overlooked the most important feature in Aion's gesture, concerned as he was with the symbolical interpretation of his apparel.

¹²⁹ See G. Downey, "Personifications of Abstract Ideas in the Antioch Mosaics," *Transactions of the Amer. Philological Assoc.*, LXIX, 1938, pp. 349 ff.; *id.*, "Representations of Abstract Ideas in the Antioch Mosaics," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, I, 1940, pp. 122 f.

¹³⁰ See A. D. Nock, "Orphism or Popular Philosophy?," *Harvard Theological Review*, XXXIII, 1940, pp. 301 ff. Cf. also G. Downey, in *Church History*, X, 1941, p. 376.

through the age and the expression most suitable to the conceptions expressed by each of them. He groups these figures in a conventional banquet-scene, to which the presence of the incense-burner gives the obvious meaning of one of the ritual banquets particularly peculiar to the religious and mystic associations of his age. We may perhaps point out a last element, which seems to be quite new and unique in ancient art, in a detail used for the characterization of the conception represented by one of these figures, precisely in the strange modelling of Mellon's body. His torso seems to be painted with colors entirely different from those generally used for naked bodies, with dark tawny tones, with shades of red and violet; they may be meant, consequently, to signify the mist which is still enveloping the Future, before he acquires the clear appearance of present reality.¹³¹ Aion is displaying only the activity assigned him by philosophy and poetry, he has not the aspect of a cosmogonic deity nor the character and the attitude proper to a magic talisman. Our mosaic is neither a profession of faith, a kind of a perpetual hymn renewed by a mystes to his divinity, as we have interpreted another mosaic of Antioch in the House of the Isiac Mysteries; nor is it a prophylactic means to avert bad luck, such as we have recognized in the mosaics of the House of the Evil Eye.¹³² It is the representation of a philosophical concept. It is not improbable, however, that to the very artistic representation of Aion—a philosophical concept, but indissolubly bound by now also to the name of a pantheistic divinity—a supernatural power was attributed, similar to that exerted by the very presence of the statuary image of a god within a house, even without the practice of a cult devoted to him. In the artistic expression of the purely philosophical conception of Aion, to which in this age, however, so rich and lively religious content had been conveyed both in scientific speculation and in popular wisdom, a kind of wish was bound to be implicit. Its presence may have been almost an equivalent to one of those *φυλακτήρια* which lower social classes and more superstitious people used to bury beneath the foundations of the house for its safeguard, and among which we believe we have recognized one with the very image of Aion (Fig. 10). From the contempla-

¹³¹ The increasing importance of color and light in the painting of late antiquity appears, e. g., from the descriptions by John of Gaza. Flesh-color is accurately described, varying according to the nature of the person represented: the complexion of Sophia is pale, that of laborious Virtue is brown, the face of the personification of Summer is sunburnt. Attire, as well as lights and shadows, may accentuate the color of the complexion (see Friedländer, *op. cit.*, pp. 220 ff.). The importance of color in painting is stressed again in a passage by Choricius of Gaza, when he says that he would represent the allegorical figures of Ἀρετή and Ἀρχή: εἰ τέχνην τὴν Ζεύξιδος ἡσκησάμην καὶ κράσις χρομίστων ἐμοὶ τὸ ἐπιτήδευμα ἦν (Eis Ἀράτιον δοῦκα, 6, ed. Foerster, Leipzig, 1929, p. 49). Much before the time of these writers, Lucian (*Pisc.*, 16 [587]), in a rhetorical description of several personifications, describes the color of Truth as gray and misty: ἡ ἀμυδρὰ δὲ αὕτη καὶ ἀσαφής τὸ χρῶμα ἢ Ἀλήθειά ἐστιν.

¹³² See my papers on these subjects in *Berytus*, VII, 1942, pp. 19 ff., and in *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, III, 1941, pp. 220 ff.

tion of the mosaic may almost have risen an echo of the magic invocations, so frequent by now, to the cosmogonic and mystic god in order to obtain a similar protection:

δὸς πόρον, πράξιν τούτῳ τῷ οἴκῳ,
ναὶ, κυριεύων ἐλπίδος, πλουτοδότα Αἰών.¹³³

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¹³³ *Pap. Gr. Mag.*, IV, 3167 ff. (vol. I, p. 176).

TWO TEMPLES OF COMMODUS AT CORINTH

The two temples to be discussed here are situated in the middle of the row of foundations across the West Terrace of the lower Corinthian Agora,¹ and have hitherto been known as Temples H and J (see plan *A.J.A.*, XLIII, 1939, p. 256, fig. 1). They were almost completely cleared in the spring of 1935, and are described briefly in the excavation report of that year;² the clearing was completed in 1938, and during the same campaign a great number of architectural members belonging to the two structures were brought to light.³

The remains of the two buildings, in situ (Figs. 1, 2, 3),⁴ consist of the concrete beddings for the walls, and the cores intended to support the heavy floors, both made of rubble-concrete, a few blocks of poros from the foundation courses along the western ends and four blocks along the northern wall of Temple J. The front part of the foundations has been considerably cut up by mediaeval construction, including tombs; and other mediaeval excavations have to some extent mutilated even the rubble-concrete in the other parts of the building. However, this destruction is not serious except in the front, where it is difficult, if not impossible, to determine the original edges of the structures, and hence the total length. But in general the foundation masses cover an area approximately 16.50 m. square.

Although there are obviously two buildings represented, the concrete of one is poured against that of the other so tightly that it has been impossible to trace a line of distinction. The actual outline of H, at least, can be determined from the poros blocks, but the concrete has been spread out and forced into the joints of J to such an extent that in the front parts of the buildings the joining is imperceptible. The kind of concrete, however, and the method of using it, seem different in each case. In J a deep trench was evidently sunk, and a concrete flooring poured in, about 1.10 m. wide on the flanks, 1.50 m. wide across the back. In front, the construction was carried out at the expense of the Fountain of Poseidon (Figs. 1 and 3), which originally

¹ Six other buildings in this area, although represented by sufficient remains to justify fairly accurate and complete restoration of most of them, cannot be published until it becomes possible to complete the drawings of the blocks concerned. I have already presented a very brief summary of the architectural development of the region at the meetings of the Archaeological Institute of America in 1940 (summarized in *A.J.A.*, XLV, 1941, p. 88), but to present the evidence for the restorations there suggested would be quite impossible without more drawings than have been prepared and brought to this country. Under these circumstances, it has been decided to publish in article form the discussion of some problems concerning the buildings, in a preliminary manner.

² R. Stillwell, *A.J.A.*, XL, 1936, p. 25.

³ C. H. Morgan II, *A.J.A.*, XLIII, 1939, p. 263.

⁴ Drawings are by Wulf Schaefer, photographs by Hermann Wagner.



Fig. 1. The Foundations of Temples J and H, from the North

F, G, H, J: foundations of temples so designated. P: water basins of Fountain of Poseidon. X: drain. The L-shaped line of blocks at lower left center, the four blocks below the concrete core of H, the blocks lying along the front of the concrete core of H, the large block standing on the rear wall of H, the six blocks visible along the top of the rear wall of J, the single block with the rectangular cutting at the extreme right of the picture, and the ten blocks loosely fitted along the north wall of J in the right foreground, were arranged in these locations by the excavators and are not in situ.



Fig. 2. The Foundations for the Cella of Temple J from the South. In the Foreground, Poros Blocks of the Northwestern Corner of Temple H, Showing the Double-T Clamps

D, J, H: foundations of temples so designated. B: foundation of Babbius monument. The eleven loosely fitted blocks along the north wall of J, the two blocks adjoining them at the northwest corner and extending along the west wall, and the six blocks lying on the west wall behind the concrete core, are not in situ but were so arranged by the excavators.

occupied the site of J and part of that of H. Here, the much harder, finer concrete of the Fountain was cleared away, and particularly smoothed where blocks of the temple foundation were to be laid. The slightness of the concrete footing for the walls is indicated by the fact that it has completely disappeared throughout the eastern half

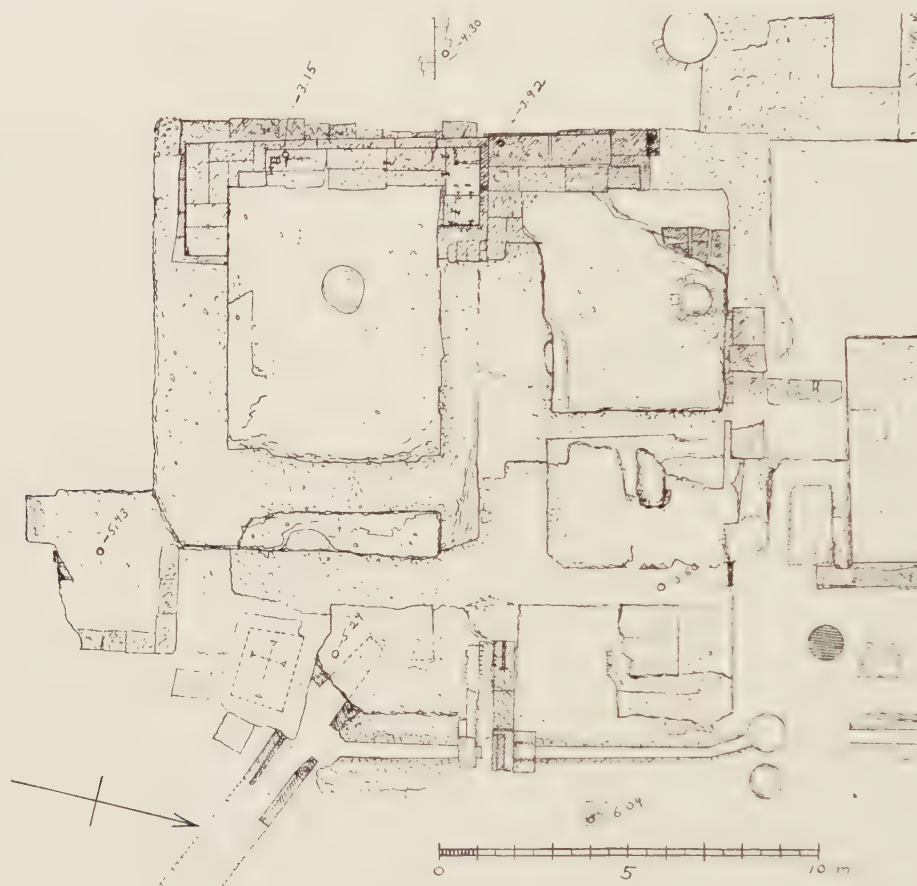


Fig. 3. Temples H and J. Built in the Reign of Commodus, at Corinth.
 Plan of Actual State. Upper Right: Corner of Temple K.
 Middle Right: the Babbus Monument. Levels
 Refer to the Stylobate of the Archaic
 Temple of Apollo

of the northern flank. The poros blocks were then laid on this footing, and earth filled in below the top of the first course. Above this, a core of rather loose rubble-concrete was poured in a block *ca.* 5.50 m. by 5.90 m. The concrete includes large chunks of broken stone as well as small; the cement itself is rather soft and crumbly. The top is well and smoothly finished off with a sort of pavement of small irregular stones (Fig. 2). A special bedding *ca.* 1.00 m. wide was prepared for the wall of the pronaos,

to support a course of blocks level with the second foundation course around the cella. The level of the surface of the cella core is about 2.10 m. above that of the agora pavement in front, and the transition in level occurs between the pronaos wall and the stylobate. The latter, in fact, lies almost exactly on the line of the terrace wall which was the original boundary of the agora in this direction. Hence the surface of the footing of the stylobate foundation is *ca.* 1.68 m. below the pronaos floor, and must have supported three foundation courses of poros rather than one. The pronaos floor was supported by a mass of earth and loose concrete *ca.* 5.50 m. in width and 3.25 m. from front to back. Of this not a great deal was left, and some was removed in the process of studying the building and earlier structures, so that it is little evident in the photographs. The foundations for the steps in front of the stylobate are much disturbed by mediaeval construction, and the exact extent of the steps from front to back is uncertain. But what are apparently traces of the same kind of concrete as that used in the cella core are found up to the inner edge of a small brick-lined drain *ca.* 3.70 m. in front of the outer edge of the stylobate foundation, and it is likely that this indicates in some way the foot of the flight of steps. In fact, the best-preserved cover-slab for the drain, at the southern end of the temple front, has a bedding *ca.* 0.50 m. wide along the top, which may have received the bottom step. This would make the flight 4.00 m. from front to back, and would allow for a flight of ten treads of 0.40 m. and eleven risers *ca.* 0.22 m. high, bringing the top to a level approximately that suggested by the top of the cella core.

The foundations of H (Figs. 1 and 3) are much more massive and solid; so much so in fact, that it is more difficult to discover the exact method of laying. It would seem, however, that for the main part of the building a solid bed of concrete was poured. On this, around the outer edges, the poros blocks were laid in a hollow rectangle, and a solid mass of concrete poured in as the walls rose, forming a core *ca.* 5.70 m. wide and 7.30 m. long. The ultimate level was *ca.* 0.70 m. higher than the surface of the cella core in J. Lines are easily perceptible in the face of the concrete core, as well as blocky hollows, which apparently represent the outlines of the blocks against which the concrete was poured, but which have subsequently been removed. The bedding for the south wall, 2.00 m. in width, is just twice that for the north wall. The explanation for this is not entirely clear, but will be discussed briefly below. In front of the foundation for the pronaos wall, which is *ca.* 1.25 m. wide, the core supporting the pronaos floor still stands fairly complete and quite solid, *ca.* 1.25 m. from front to back. The stylobate bedding, some 2.00 m. below the core of the cella, is also *ca.* 1.25 m. wide. The steps again provide an even more elusive problem of dimension. Their foundations were laid over various earlier structures—part of the Fountain, an early drain, and the edge of a monument base on the southern face (discussion of these must be deferred until the final publication)—and are mutilated by mediaeval construction and despoilment. As indicated on the plan (Fig. 3), there

seem to be slight traces of concrete lying beyond the tile-lined drain mentioned above, suggesting an extension of the steps of between 4.90 m. and 5.30 m. As the cella core stands *ca.* 2.80 m. above the agora level (to which must be added 0.10-0.25 m. for the floor slabs), a flight of fourteen risers *ca.* 0.22 m. high would be needed; and with thirteen treads of 0.40 m., the extent would be 5.20 m., which agrees with the suggestion of the slight remains. Traces of the foundation suggest that the steps were flanked by paratids *ca.* 1.00 m. wide.

In the slight remains of the poros foundations, more significant information is to be found. Nothing remains above some scattered blocks of the first foundation course in J, excepting half a dozen blocks of the second course at the southwestern corner. The narrow margin by which even these are left to us is indicated by the interesting situation in which one of them was found when discovered. It had already been pried slightly out of position with bars, and lifted to rest on a roller cut out of a piece of marble. The blocks of this course are neatly cut and finished on the exposed and joining surfaces (Fig. 3 and the illustration cited in note 5, *infra*). They were probably almost completely, if not entirely, exposed in the original state of the building. Those along the rear face are laid as stretchers, measuring *ca.* 1.55 m. in length; those along the southern face were more chunky in proportion, and measured *ca.* 0.65-0.70 m. across the face. The outer corner of the block at the southwestern corner has been considerably damaged, whether from wear while exposed in situ, or as a result of damage in later construction.

The poros foundation walls of H are rather more imposing than those of J; in fact, the large blocks and rather careful workmanship are still admirable.⁵ Three courses are preserved, contiguous with those of J. The lowest course was evidently never meant to be seen, for the blocks are laid haphazardly, although tightly, and their exterior face was never brought to an even surface. The second course is well laid, although the outer surface is not precisely even. On the north flank, adjoining Temple J, the blocks of this course become smaller and less well cut. The third, or top course, is worthy of special comment. There are three blocks laid as stretchers on the western face, 1.60 m. in length, 0.77 m. in height, and *ca.* 0.50 m. to 0.60 m. in width. Behind them are backers bonding into the concrete. At the northwestern corner is a heavier block, 1.25 by 0.88 m. in plan. They are carefully aligned, withdrawn *ca.* 0.25 m. from the (slightly irregular) face of the second course.

The most remarkable feature of these blocks is that they are bonded together with double-T clamps, some of which are still in position (Fig. 2). The clamps are *ca.* 0.20 m. long, with crossbars *ca.* 0.07 m. long, and seem to have been well made and carefully set. They are used rather irregularly; the corner block has four binding it to its neighbors; the two next the corner on the west are fastened with one, but the

⁵ *A.J.A.*, XL, 1936, p. 26, fig. 5.

third is completely free except for one clamp binding it to its backer. In addition to the clamp cuttings, there are two pry-holes on the corner block, 1.00 m. from the western edge. It is perhaps surprising, in view of this equipment of classical cuttings, that there are no dowel holes. The clamps are certainly original with the temple, and are noteworthy as rare examples of such clamps in Roman construction.⁶

From a survey of the remains described above, we may form a few general conclusions regarding the buildings. In the first place, J is evidently the earlier. This follows first from the fact that the poros foundation blocks of H on the side next J are smaller and more carelessly laid than on visible faces. In the second place, the breaking and wearing of the southwestern corner of J could not have occurred if the adjoining block was laid, for the corner of H is fresh and clean, and would have protected the J corner. Finally, the unusual protuberance of the concrete mass beyond the poros walls of H on the south, with the contrasting tight accommodation of the poros blocks on the southern foundation, indicates that there was more leeway on the south than on the north when H was built.

As to the plans of the structures, we observe that J (assuming some recession of the upper courses of blocks within the outline of the preserved foundations) would have measured *ca.* 6.80 m. in width, *ca.* 12.00 m. in length (excluding the steps, which may have added some 4.00 m. to the total length). The cella would have measured *ca.* 6.00 m. in length, and 5.50 m. in width, on the inside; the pronaos would have been some 3.40 m. deep.

Temple H, on the other hand, would have measured *ca.* 7.60 m. in width on its foundation, by 12.00 m. in length (plus *ca.* 5.20 m. for the steps). Although approximately similar in general dimensions, the proportions of the two buildings were quite different, for the cella of H would have measured *ca.* 7.60 m. by 5.80 m. on its interior, and the pronaos would have been only *ca.* 1.50 m. deep.

For the restoration of the superstructures of the two temples we are in possession of a gratifying amount of material, but there are two factors which complicate the situation in general. The first of these is that the workmanship on the temples is extremely careless in detail; the width of a particular moulding may vary in some

⁶ The sole parallels for the use of double-T clamps in Roman times are apparently those in the Pompeion by the Dipylon at Athens, and the structure in the middle of the court of the Library of Hadrian at Athens (Kübler, *Ath. Mitt.*, LIII, 1928, p. 179). Of these, the former is said to be Hadrianic; the date of the latter is in dispute. The clamps occur in large marble blocks which have evidently been reused from some earlier structure, although the clamps themselves were certainly functional, and perhaps original, in the building as it stands. This building was erected over the remains of a pool or formal enclosure in the middle of the court of the library; hence it is probably not contemporary with the first construction of the library, and may therefore not be Hadrianic. But whether it is as late as the fourth century, and was designed as a church as some think (M. A. Sisson, "Stoa of Hadrian at Athens," *Papers of the British School at Rome*, vol. xi, 1929, pp. 50-72, especially 66-72) is also debatable. So the structure may also belong to the latter part of the second century.

cases as much as a centimeter in the length of one block alone; joint surfaces are not carefully prepared; corners are not always true. In view of this lack of precision in the workmanship of the original building, it is difficult to estimate the nicety with which any two blocks may be expected to fit, or to calculate from any particular member the size of other members of the same category. In the second place, as we shall see below, the two temples were so similar in many details that it is in some cases a matter of real doubt as to whether a certain block belonged to the one or the other.⁷ For the most part the latter problem is of little significance, for when corresponding elements of the two buildings are thus indistinguishable, it must be in general a more or less academic problem to assign any individual piece to either building. The former difficulty will of course prevent an absolutely exact restoration, but it will nevertheless be possible to be fairly confident of dimensions within a few centimeters.

For reasons which will be apparent later, we may begin our examination of the superstructure with Temple H, rather than J, although the latter is actually earlier in date.

From the walls of Temple H we have three poros blocks, of which one is from a corner, and of which all three belong to the lowest course, as indicated by the base mould which they carry on their outer faces (Fig. 4). They are associated with the temple by the location of their finding, near the southwestern corner of the building, by their appropriate scale, and by the fact that they were bonded together with double-T clamps, like the upper course of the foundation. The material is the same poros of the foundation, finished on the exposed surface with careful tooling with the claw chisel. The inner surface is less well finished, evidently either to be sheathed with marble or covered with plaster. No trace remains to prove either suggestion. The joint surfaces are supplied with anathyrosis of 0.06 to 0.08 m. in width along both inner and outer edge. The effective width of the wall, exclusive of the base mould, is 0.60 m., and the height of these lower blocks, probably orthostates, is 0.85 m. The base mould consists of a plain vertical band, corresponding to a plinth, 0.095 m. in height, surmounted by a torus, scotia, and torus in the Attic-Ionic form, 0.22 m. high. This moulding is badly battered and is in fact preserved complete only in a small section, but the restoration is certain. The corner is cut with a plain anta on each face, projecting 0.05 m. and 0.60 m. wide. In addition to the clamp cuttings on the top, there are also some pry holes and a lewis hole on two of the blocks. The lewis holes

⁷ Twin temples are known elsewhere; the most appropriate published examples are at 'Atil in the Ḥaurān, dated A.D. 151, which are even more alike than our two, being identical in plan: H. C. Butler, in *Publications of the American Archaeological Expedition to Syria, 1899-1900*, Part II, *Architecture and Other Arts in Northern Central Syria and Djebel Ḥaurān* (New York, 1903), pp. 342-6. Cf. Robertson, *Greek and Roman Architecture* (Cambridge, 1929), pp. 230, 345, 375, where the date of ca. A.D. 211 is accepted. Cf. similarities in the work of the "Theseum Architect": Dinsmoor, *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, pp. 44-47.

measure 0.05 m. by 0.12 m. at the top, and are 0.08 m. deep. They are of the type which is larger at both ends at the bottom. The three blocks which are preserved probably come from the southwestern corner near which they were found; the corner

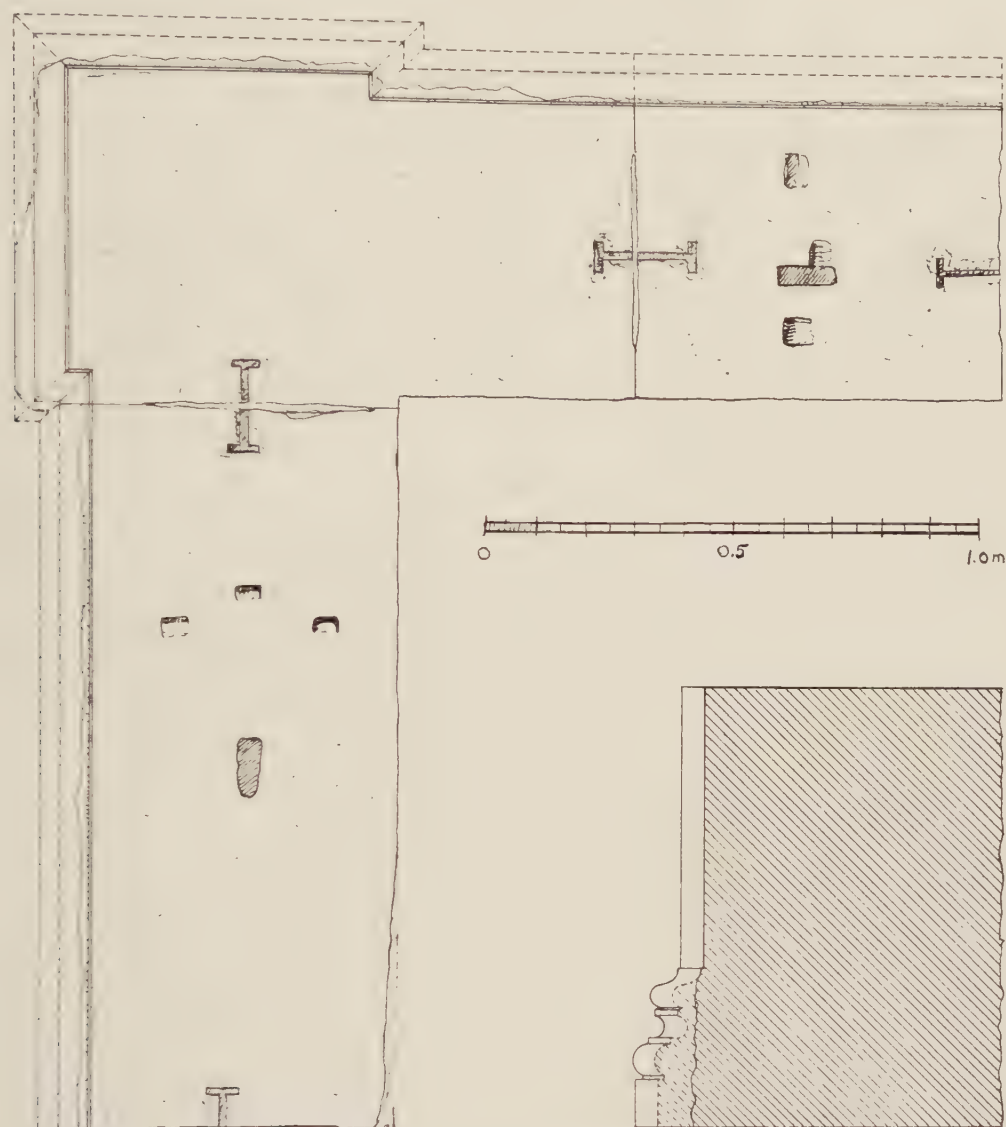


Fig. 4. Poros Blocks with Base Moulding, from the Wall of Temple H

actually joined, in all probability, with the smaller block drawn beside it on the western face; the larger block placed on the southern flank may possibly have occupied that very position, although the clamp cuttings do not coincide precisely on one side.

Most of the other preserved fragments from the building belong to the entablature. Some step blocks have been tentatively assigned to the structure, but no drawings or photographs of them are at present available, nor are they of any particular interest. Some column bases of white marble were found in the vicinity; these consist of a square plinth surmounted by an Attic-Ionic base, with a profile just like that of the

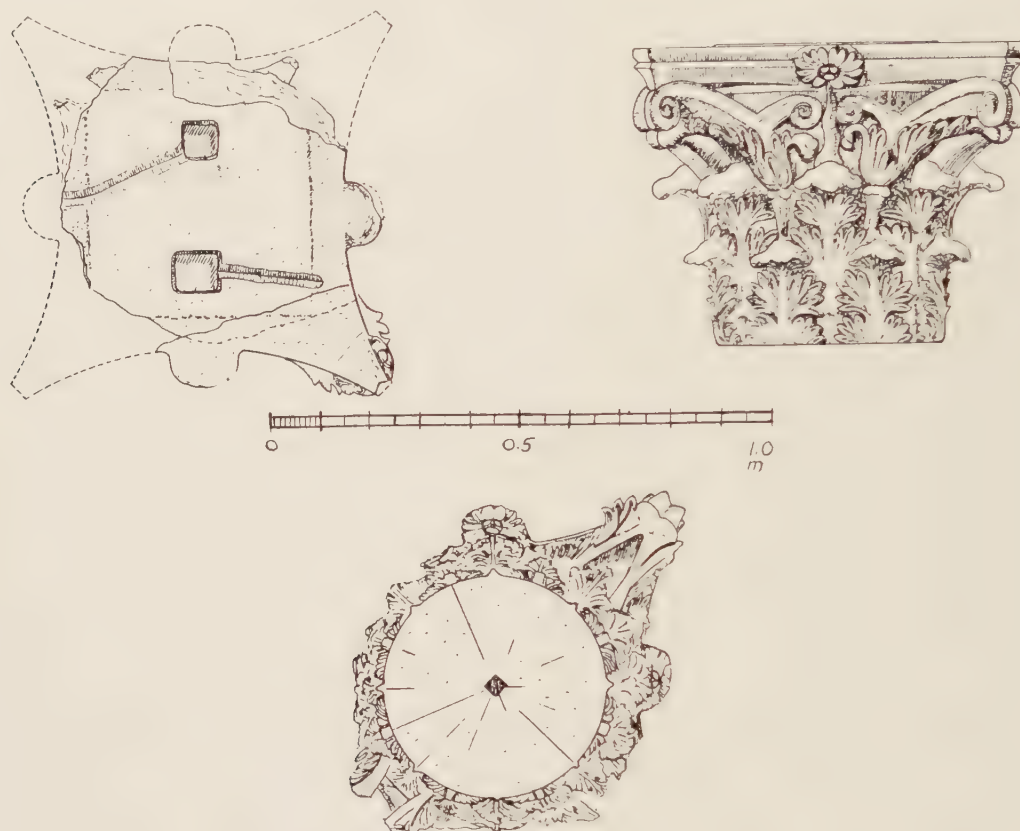


Fig. 5. Marble Column Capital, Probably from Temple H

poros wall-base moulding, but again no illustrative material is available. Some smooth shafts of a dark syenite have been suggested as columns, but they cannot be illustrated now. The discussion of these members must be deferred until the final publication, but fortunately they are of no great significance in restoring the general appearance of the building.

The capitals for the columns can be quite certainly identified, although it seems impossible to determine which of a series of quite similar capitals belongs to Temple J, and which to Temple H (Fig. 5, cf. below, pp. 343 f.). There are three nearly whole examples, and a number of smaller fragments. They are 0.60 m. in height, 0.44 m.

in lower diameter, 1.04 m. diagonally across the (restored) volutes on top, and have a rectangular bearing-surface on their tops *ca.* 0.45 m. square. On the bottom surface is a small square dowel hole, carefully centered on diametric lines; on the top of each are two dowel holes, *ca.* 0.06 m. square, with pour-channels roughly cut. The design of the capital is conservative and uninspired; the most significant characteristic is, perhaps, the tendency to blocky forms of the leaves and tendrils, with deep hollows, giving a near-coloristic effect. On each side, against the abacus, is a rosette, which varies among the different preserved specimens. Some of them have numerous rather small petals, others have fewer, broader petals. But these differences do not seem

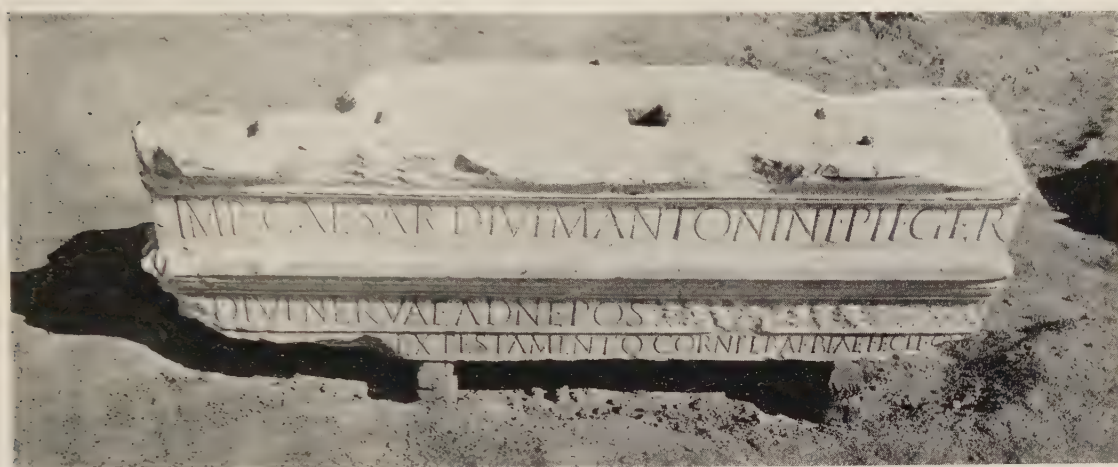


Fig. 6. Inscribed Architrave from Temple H

significant, for each capital has other peculiarities of workmanship, and no two are exact duplicates.

Of the architrave blocks, the most interesting is that for the southern front intercolumniation, which bears the inscription with the name of Commodus erased (Figs. 6, 7, 28). The restoration and significance of the inscription will be discussed below, and for the moment we may confine our attention to the architectural features of the block. It is 2.28 m. in length, measured on the lower surface, and *ca.* 2.37 m. on the top, the difference, of course, accounting for the projection of fasciae and mouldings. It is 0.695 m. in height, 0.465 m. wide across the bottom, and 0.64 m. wide across the top. In profile, it has two fasciae on the architrave, a moulding consisting of a small roundel, a larger quarter round, then an equivalent concave moulding, and a taenia at the top. The frieze band is plain, and is surmounted by a roundel, a cyma reversa, and a taenia. The execution of these mouldings is plain to an extreme, and there is, as has been mentioned, a good deal of inequality and irregularity in the workmanship. Most of the tooling seems to have been done with a claw chisel, and visible surfaces

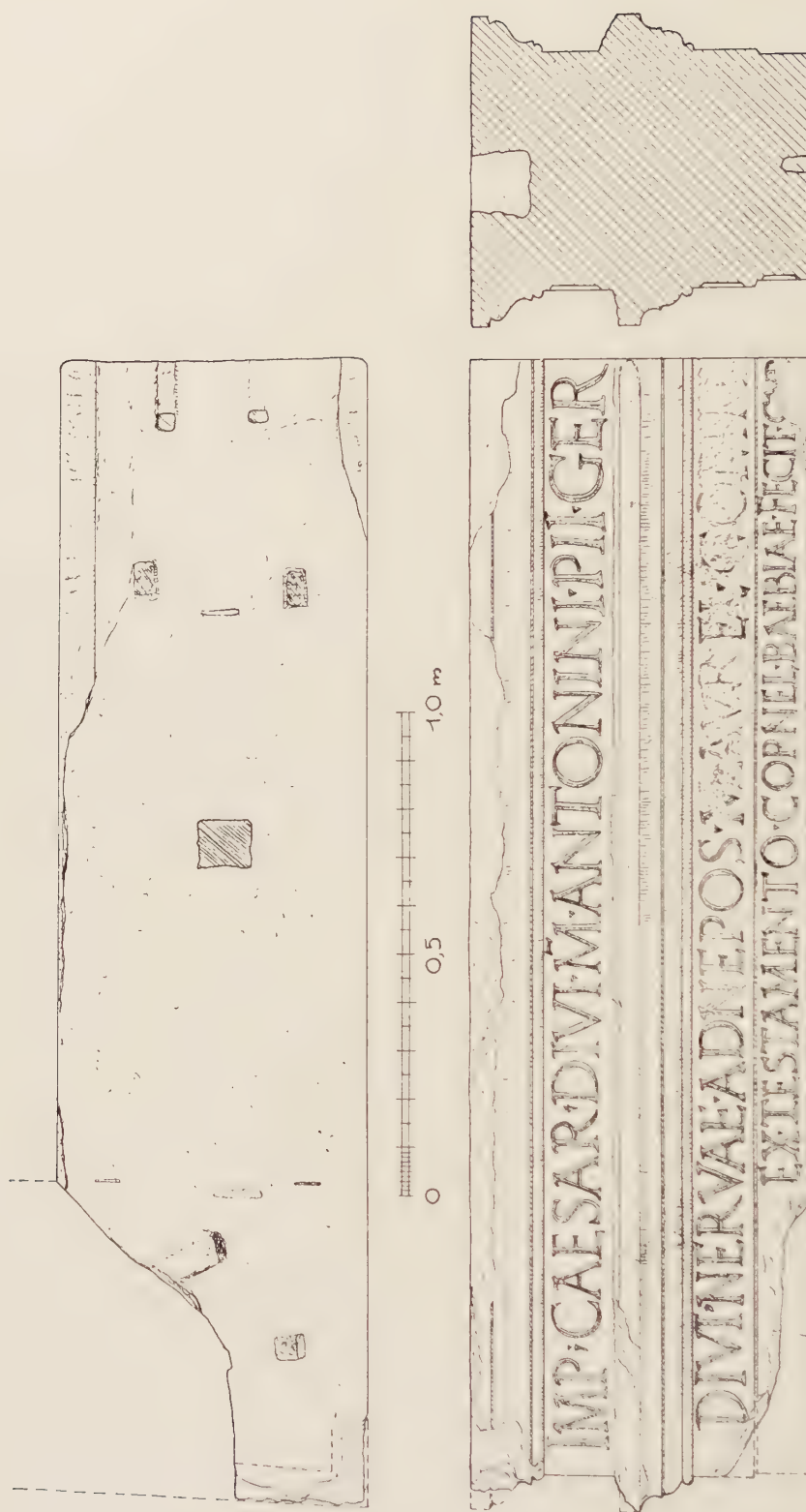


Fig. 7. Drawing of Inscribed Architrave from Temple H

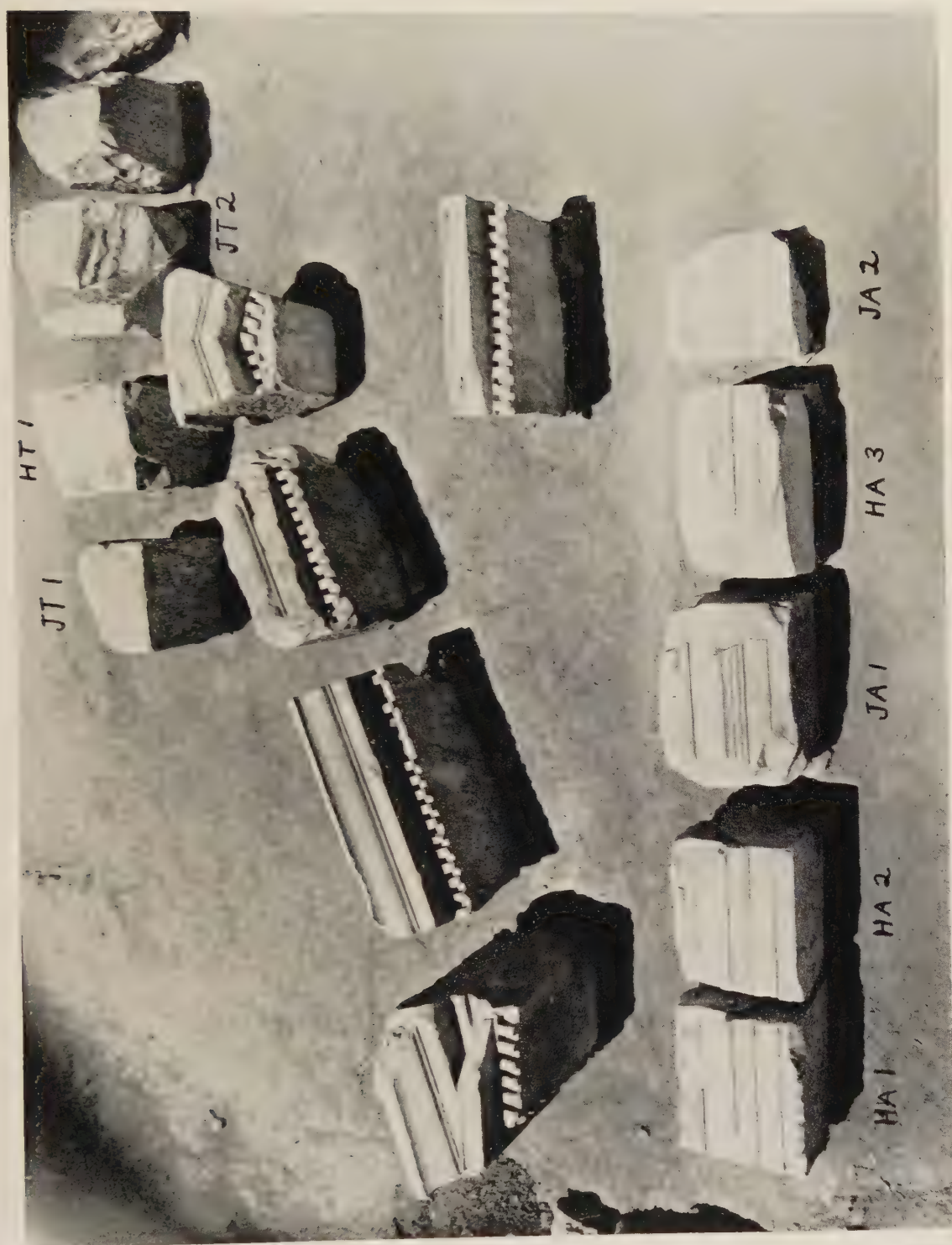


Fig. 8. Blocks from the Entablatures of Temples H and J. All of the Cornices Belong to H;
 the Architraves (A) and Tympana (T) Belonging to Temple H Are Marked H;
 Those Belonging to J Are Marked J

are fairly well finished. On hidden surfaces, such as the tops of the mouldings, the stone is left quite rough. On the top of the block is an elaborate array of cuttings. In the center is a lewis hole measuring 0.10 by 0.11 m., otherwise like those observed on the poros wall blocks. There are two groups of pry-holes; the first is *ca.* 0.62-0.65 m. from the corner, the second is 1.20 m. farther in, and is accompanied by two dowel holes 0.04 by 0.07 m., without pour-channels. There are four clamps, two at each end; three are for ordinary Roman hook clamps, one seems to have been for a

more strap-like clamp. The manner in which the corner is prepared is significant; from the inner corner the block is cut into diagonally some 0.45 m., thence outward at right angles to the end face of the block. On the lower surface are dowel cuttings for attachment to the columns.

Four other pieces of architrave from Temple H can be identified, all from along the wall of the cella. But before considering them and their problems, we may perhaps better proceed with the elements of the entablature along the front, considering their association with the architrave block already described, and the information to be derived therefrom. We have two corner cornice blocks, with both horizontal and raking cornice on the same block; one piece of the horizontal cornice, two of the raking cornice, and the peak block (Fig. 8).

Considering first the section of horizontal cornice (Figs. 8, 9), we observe that its workmanship, material, and general proportions are in all respects comparable to that of the architrave. Its length, 1.20 m., is appropriate to the spacing of the pry-holes on the top of the architrave, although the preserved block cannot have occupied the space between the pry-holes on the pre-

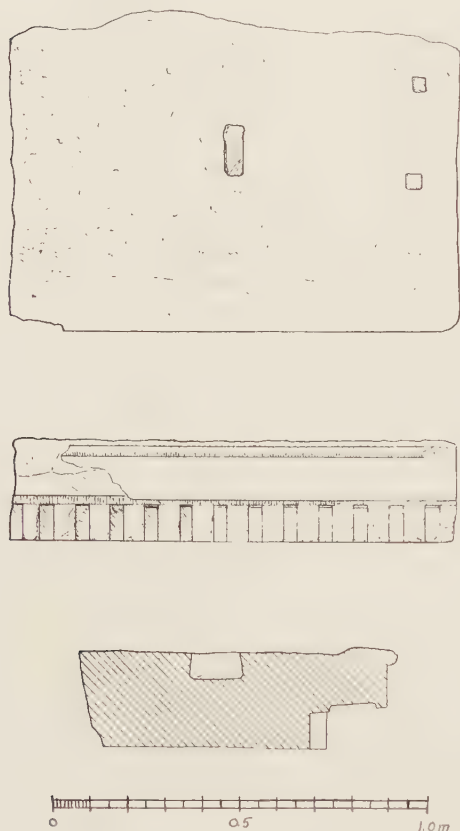


Fig. 9. Drawing of Horizontal Cornice Block of the Gable of Temple H

served architrave, but might have been doweled rather at its left end (which has traces of dowel holes) to the cuttings at the right end of the architrave. The most significant feature of the block is its profile, which we shall find characteristic of the Temple H cornices, and which is singularly unimaginative, although it has a certain impressiveness of scale. The dentil range is *ca.* 0.095 m. in height, the dentils are *ca.* 0.055 m. wide, and 0.04 m. deep, but vary somewhat, and are spaced *ca.* 0.03-0.035 m. apart. Most noteworthy is the absence of any moulding whatsoever between the

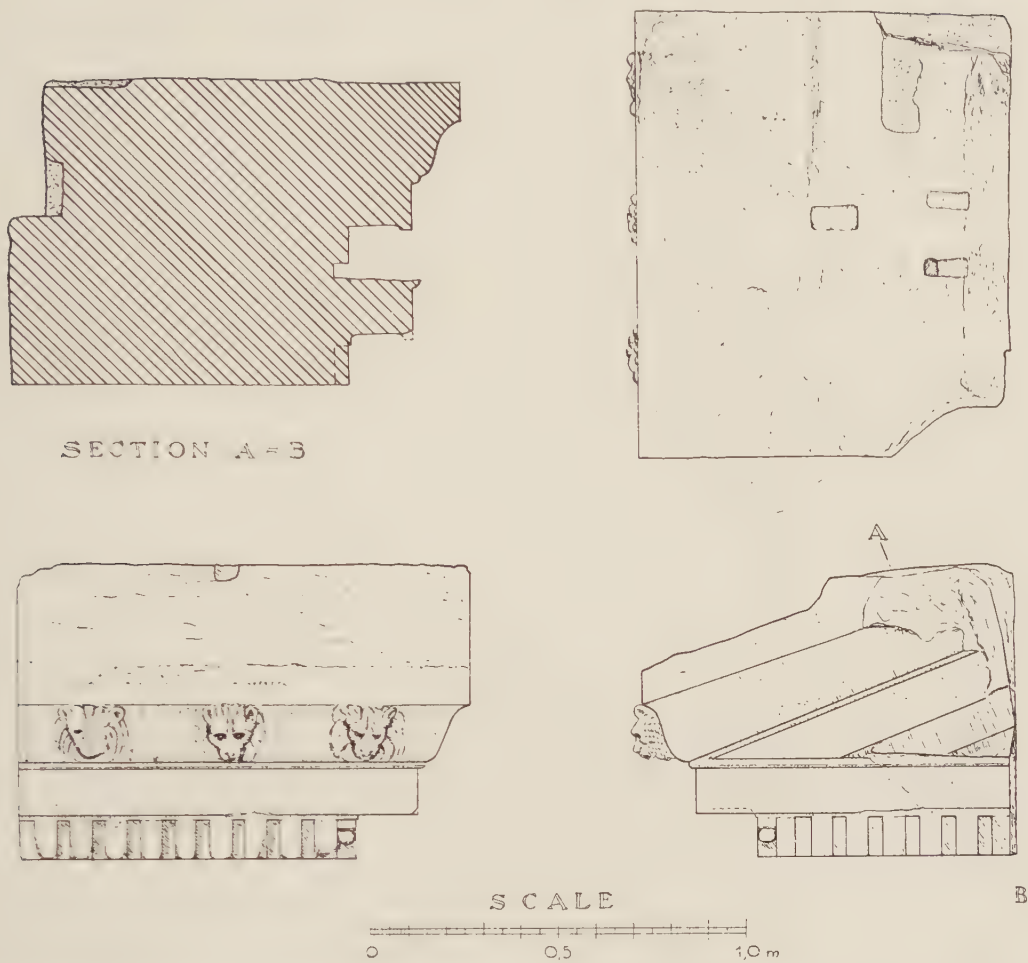


Fig. 10. Drawing of Corner Cornice Block from Left End of the Gable of Temple H

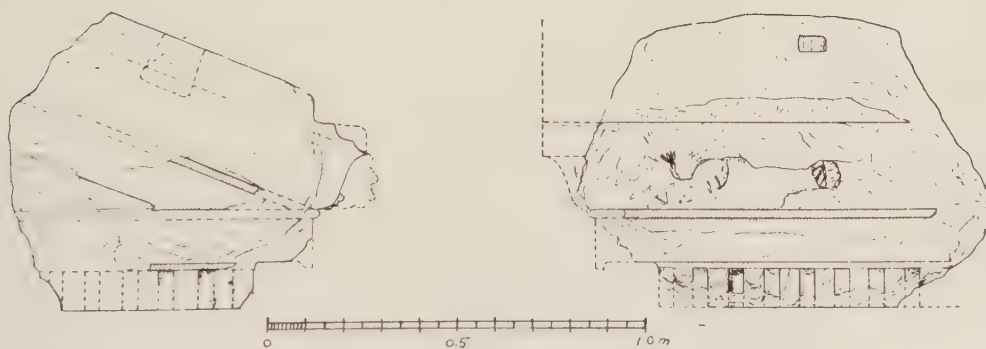


Fig. 11. Drawing of Corner Cornice Block from Right End of the Gable of Temple H

dentils and the overhang; the transition is only through a graceless curve from a flat surface.

The corner block (Figs. 8, 10) is much more interesting, although no more finely executed. The space at the corner of the dentil range is occupied by a rounded knob,

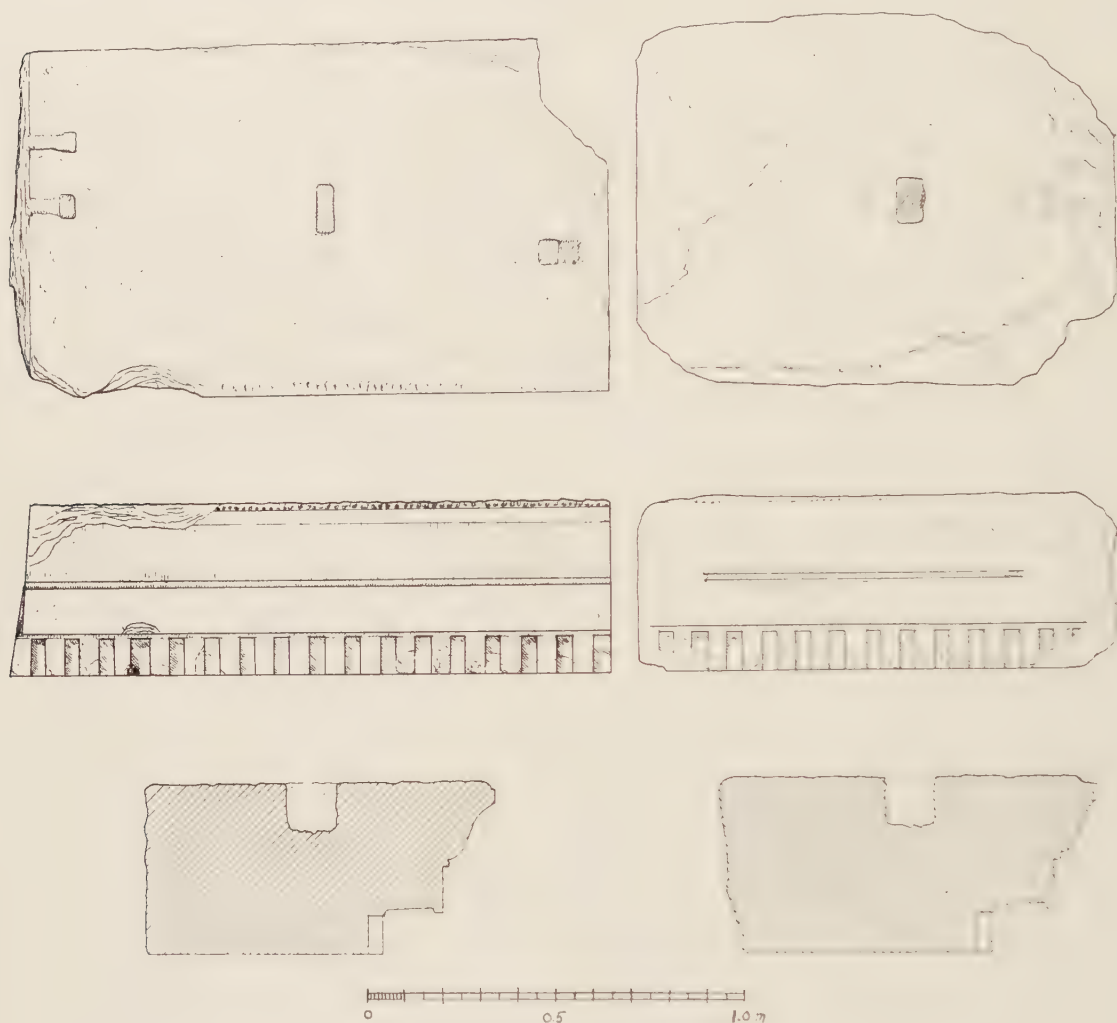


Fig. 12. Drawing of Two Blocks from the Raking Cornice of Temple H

possibly representing a pomegranate. The dentil range of the raking cornice is uncut, and indeed narrower than normal. Along the side sima are three roughly carved lion's heads, without arrangements for water to escape through their mouths. On the top is a roughly prepared platform, on which might have been erected an akroterion, although there is no trace of it. Apart from the lewis hole, the only cuttings on the top are two clamp cuttings, of which one may be unfinished, and never used. The

inner corner is cut out, possibly for the reception of a rafter in the pronaos roof. A much battered block from the corresponding position at the other end of the cornice is preserved (Fig. 11), but so damaged as to add no significant information. It may

be noted that the width of the under surface of the cornice, less the projection of the dentil, is 0.60 m., or approximately corresponding to the pry-holes at the end of the architrave which supported it.

Of the two blocks from the raking cornice (Figs. 8, 12), the larger may well have fitted against the better preserved of the corner blocks. At its lower end, on the upper surface, are two clamp cuttings with one unfinished, corresponding in position to those of the corner block. The end surface of each is somewhat damaged, so that it is difficult to determine how well they would fit. But the most careful examination seems to suggest that if they were juxtaposed, the joint must have been rather poor. Of course, this would have been invisible from the ground, or mostly so, because of the projection of the horizontal cornice. But it still seems extraordinary carelessness, and it may be, after all, that the block in question came from the rear gable, although if this were the case, the coincidences with the corner block are remarkable. The smaller of the two raking cornice blocks has no indications sufficiently well preserved to prove its position, but there is no objection to its having come between the block just discussed and the peak.

This last is the most interesting of the lot (Figs. 8, 13). Its top surface is elaborately prepared to receive an akroterion, with a well-cut bedding 0.07 m. deep, 0.50 m. wide, and 0.70 m. in extreme length. It is not quadrangular, but of irregular shape evidently intended to support something like a small statue or group. A man (or woman) or gorgon running to the left, with the

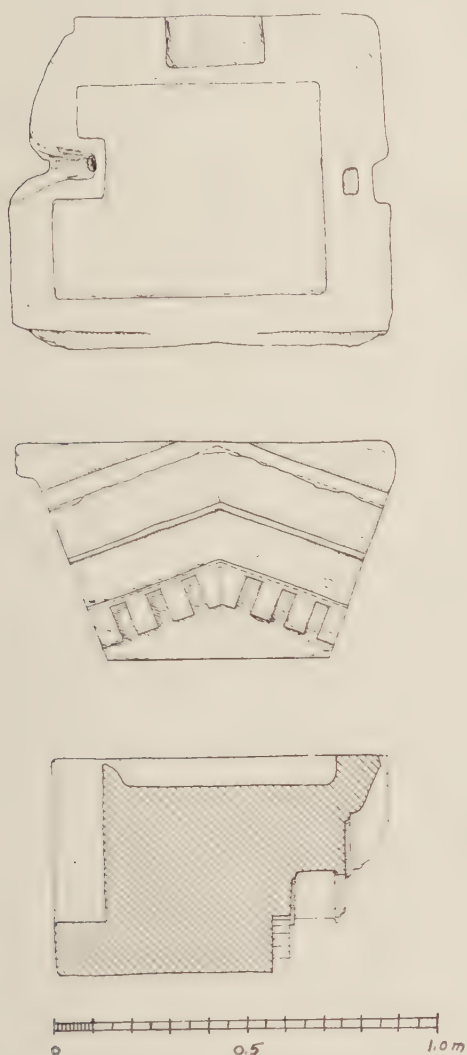


Fig. 13. Drawing of the Peak Cornice Block from the Gable of Temple H, with Cutting for Akroterion

right foot stretching behind. Apart from this, the most important fact about this cornice block is that the overhang and dentil range diminish in size; the dentils at the lower end are *ca.* 0.095 m. in height (compared with *ca.* 0.10 m. on the block we presume to adjoin it) and 0.09 m. at the peak. The

overhang extends 0.14 m. at the lower end, and only 0.13 m. at the peak (compared with 0.155 m. in the section illustrated of the adjoining block; but the diminution begins even on the latter).

Finally we have at least one block from the tympanum of this pediment (Figs. 8, 14). Its thickness, 0.60 m., is appropriate to the cornice bearing it and those it supports; it is equipped with the normal lewis hole, and three clamps. The slope, moreover, 1 in $2\frac{1}{2}$, is equivalent to that approximated from the angles of the corner and peak cornices (here the workmanship is uneven enough to permit slight variation).

Considering these elements of the entablature as a whole, then, we may draw

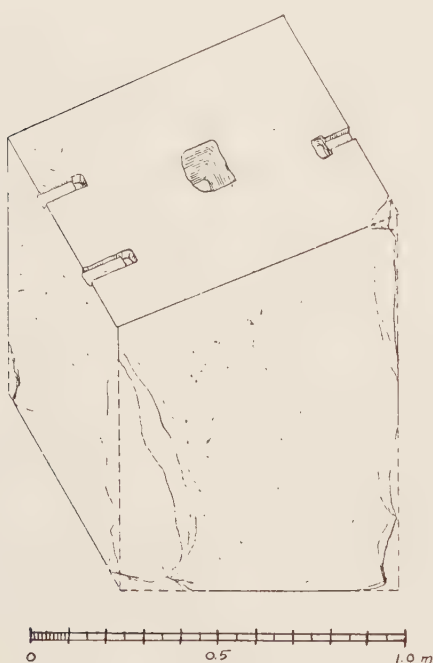


Fig. 14. Isometric Drawing of Block from the Tympanum of Temple H

certain conclusions regarding the building. If there were three architrave blocks of exactly the same length, the façade would measure 3×2.28 or 6.84 m. across the bottom of the architrave, 3×2.37 m., or 7.11 m. across the top of the architrave. Restoring the gable from the cornices, however, we get a length along the dentil range of *ca.* 7.40 m. From this must be subtracted *ca.* 0.10 m. for the projection of the dentils, giving 7.30 m. for the top of the architrave, or 0.19 m. too much. In view of the lack of precision in the workmanship, we can hardly expect to arrive at any certainty in this matter, but it is pretty certain that the truth will lie somewhere between, and we may adopt for convenience a figure of *ca.* 7.20 m. for the width of the building across the top of the architrave, *ca.* 7.02 m. across the bottom, and 7.30 m. for the length of the dentil range. The gable will be approximately 1.25 m. in height (floor to dentil range).

The inter-axial distance between the southeast corner column and its neighbor to the north, deduced from the corner architrave block, would be *ca.* 2.05 m. (2.28 m., the lower length of the architrave, less 0.23 m. or half its lower thickness, to account for the distance between the center of the corner column and the end of the block). The central interaxial space would be, therefore, *ca.* 2.46 m. Whether the porch was tetrastyle prostyle, or distyle in antis, probably cannot be settled definitely. A side intercolumniation equivalent to the front corner intercolumniation would fit nicely on the foundations, and all things considered, this is probably to be preferred, although there seems to be no way of proving it.

As the back of the architrave is completely worked, and the back of the cornice is not, the ceiling of the pronaos evidently came between. No substantial workings

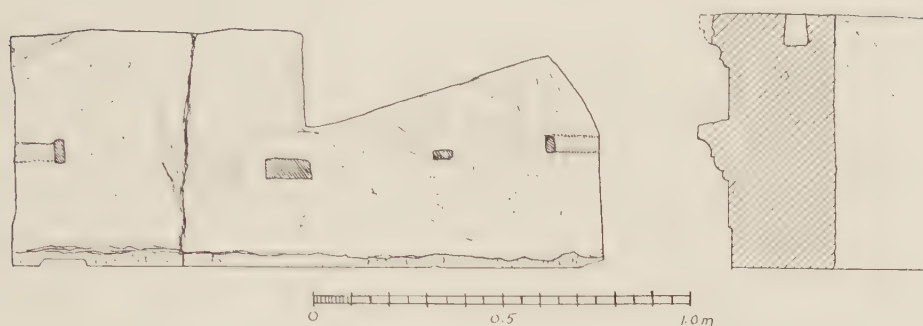


Fig. 15. Drawing of Architrave from the Cella Wall of Temple H,
at Junction with Pronaos Wall



Fig. 16. Drawings of Architraves from the Walls of
Temple H. The Block at the Lower Right,
HA1, Comes from the Pronaos Wall
at the Junction with the
Cella Wall

were prepared for this, but thin slabs could have rested on the top of the inner mouldings of the architrave, which projected *ca.* 0.09 m. behind the cornice.

From the rest of the building we have four more pieces of architrave (Figs. 8, 15, 16), and one side cornice block, of marble. The architraves come from positions resting on the wall, for none is finished on the back face. The profiles, workmanship, and technical characteristics of the blocks are in all respects identical with those of the inscribed architrave from the front, although the prevailing carelessness of workmanship results in differences of detail and dimension that are painfully obvious on close inspection, but must have been negligible to the casual observer while they were in position. The ceiling of the cella must have come below the level of the architraves, for they are quite rough on the back, and show no signs of attachment for any sheathing.



Fig. 17. Side Cornice from Temple H

Two of the blocks are particularly interesting in that their position can be determined exactly. One, the larger, now broken in two pieces, has a triangular section cut out of its back at one end (Fig. 15); the other is cut in such a way that its back side is longer than its front, so that it could fit into the notch of the first (Fig. 16, HA 1). On the top of the second, the greater part of the surface is slightly higher than the upper surface of the part that would fit into the notch of the first. The moulding along the front is beveled off at the end, abutting against the longer block. Evidently the smaller block rested on the south end of the pronaos wall, while the larger was located at the end of the south cella wall at the corner of the pronaos. The (missing) architrave block from the side of the pronaos fitted against the end of the longer preserved block, and evidently had a projecting angle at the back, bearing the beveled extension of the inner mouldings to fit against those of the pronaos wall architrave. A clamp cutting on the end of the latter corresponds to the slight remains of another clamp cutting in the longer block, so that these could be bonded together, although otherwise the fit seems remarkably inexact.

Corresponding to these architrave blocks, a complete but somewhat battered side cornice block was found buried in the earth exactly below this position (Figs. 17, 18). A noteworthy feature of this block is that on the top there are three cuttings for beams or rafters. One is cut quite close to the eastern end; the second lies 0.80 m. to the west; the third only 0.30 m. west of the second. This uneven spacing finds a ready explanation if we suppose that the cornice in question rested on the long, side architrave just

at the point of juncture, overlapping just a few centimeters at each end. Then the lone beam cutting at the east would lie outside the pronaos wall, and be a part of the pronaos roof system; the others would lie inside, and be a part of the cella roof system.

Apart from this coincidence, the cornice in question is of interest for two other reasons; in the first place, it still bears the battered remains of four lion's head spouts on the sima, all pierced so that water could pour through. Behind them, on the upper surface, is a roughly carved gutter *ca.* 0.10 m. wide, and 0.06 m. deep. Along the inner edge the gutter is cut at an angle, evidently adapted to the slope of the roof, although there is no indication of how the roof tiles were attached. The other note-

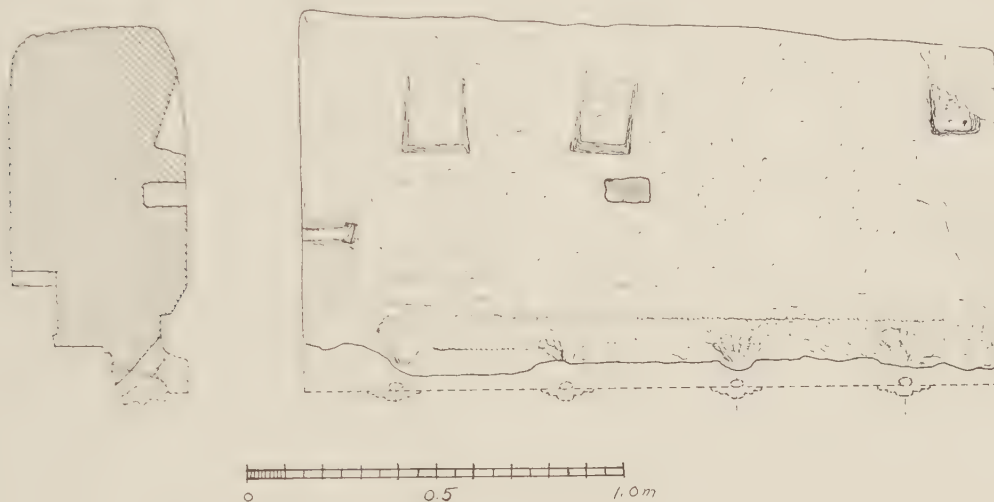


Fig. 18. Drawing of Side Cornice Block from Temple H

worthy feature of the cornice is the striking example of carelessness in carving the dentil range. Some of the dentils are cut as high as the overhang, with not even an intervening taenia; others have the customary taenia of the other cornices found, although here there is no transitional curve to the overhang.

By no means the least interesting feature of Temple H is the fact that there are several examples of cornice and architrave blocks definitely belonging to the same system, but cut out of poros instead of marble. At least two architrave blocks, and three cornice blocks (cf. Fig. 19) or substantially large fragments of them, have been identified. These are recognizable by the profiles, scale, and approximately equivalent measurement of details, although the poros blocks, particularly, exhibit the characteristic irregularity of workmanship. One of the architrave blocks lacks the topmost cyma; two of the cornice blocks are *ca.* 0.50 m. in thickness, one is *ca.* 0.40 m., while the marble cornice blocks (from the side and raking cornice) are *ca.* 0.46 m. thick. These poros blocks are too battered to photograph well, and unfortunately there are

no drawings of them available. However, there can be no question but that they belong to the same system, for all their irregularities.

The question from what part of the building they come then arises. It might be a plausible suggestion that they belong to the rear of the building, for it would not be unreasonable for a temple of this period and quality to have marble only on the façade and most important flank. But if there was marble on the flank, as there was, the transition to poros on the rear would be difficult, and it is much more probable that the poros blocks came from the north side, where they would have been practically invisible because of the fact that Temple J was so close, and completely concealed anything on this flank except from some remote position such as the hills to the west or north.⁸

One final important block remains to be considered in the study of Temple H. This is the lintel, of which two fragments remain (Figs. 20, 21). These fragments, of which one is *ca.* 1.30 m. in length, the other *ca.* 1.10 m., represent the two ends of the original block. They do not make actual contact on the broken surfaces, and how great a section of the center is missing cannot be exactly determined. It can, however, be approximated as follows. On the back of each fragment of the block, which is unfinished, there are two slot-like cuttings across the top, evidently intended for the attachment of some wooden or metal sheathing. These are spaced *ca.* 0.45 m. apart. Presumably there was a series of these slots extending all along the face of the original block, and there is no reason to doubt but that they were all equidistant. Thus if the original block had five slots, it would have measured overall *ca.* 2.57 m.; if there had been six, 2.95 m., if seven, 3.39 m. On the under surface, the exposed soffit is easily distinguishable from the surface which rested on the door jamb, because the soffit is smoothly finished, and the bearing surface is less smoothly picked flat. From this we may determine that the face of the door jamb came *ca.* 0.72 m. from the extreme end of the block. Hence the effective opening of the door would have been 1.44 m. less than the total length of the block. Of the possibilities for the total length of the block noted above, this would give the shortest



Fig. 19. One of the Poros Cornices from Temple H

⁸ A third suggestion might be that the poros blocks belong to an earlier phase of the building, which was at some time built of marble. But in our consideration of the chronology, we shall see that the period between the laying of the foundations and the carving of the inscription could have been no more than six years at the most, which is scarcely time to allow for two complete buildings to be carried through.

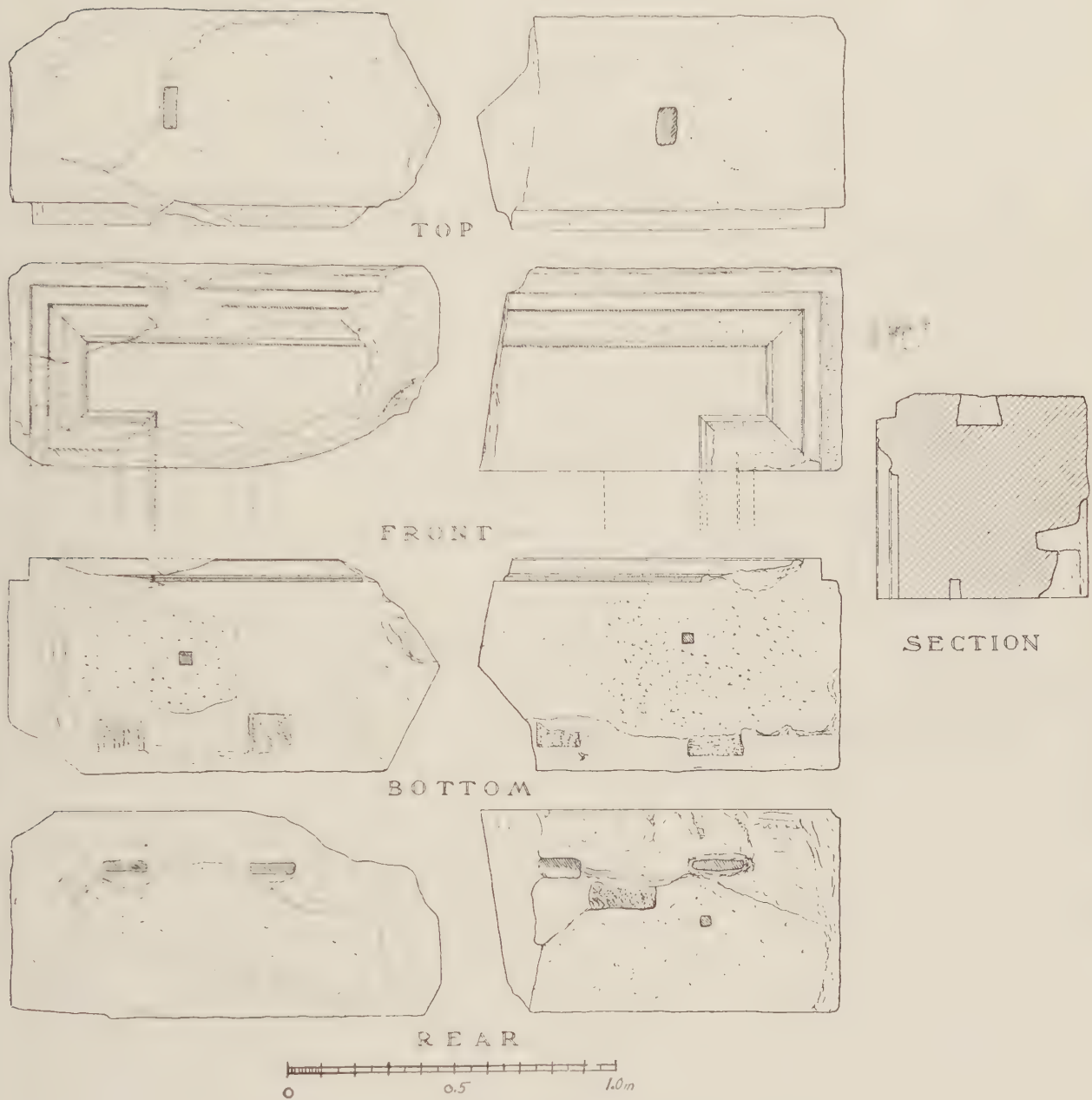


Fig. 20. Drawings of the Two Fragments of the Lintel from Temple H

length a door passage of only 1.13 m.; the second, 1.51 m., the third, 1.95 m. Of these the last corresponds fairly well to the central intercolumniation deduced above. The interaxial distance of 2.46 m. would mean an intercolumniation of about 2.00 m.; the diameter of the column at the base is uncertain, but must have been between 0.55 m. and 0.60 m., for the upper diameter of the capitals is 0.46 m. Thus 1.95 m. may be taken as the width of the door at the top. At the bottom, of course, it would be somewhat wider, although the exact figure cannot, naturally, be determined.

The other technical details of the lintel will be apparent in the drawing, and are similar in all respects to those described above in connection with other blocks from Temple H. A noteworthy difference is the presence of two lewis holes, one at each



Fig. 21. One of the Fragments of the Lintel of Temple H

end of the block, in contrast to the otherwise universal practice of using only one. This divergence in method is probably due to the unusual length of the lintel which renders it somewhat more unwieldy than any of the other blocks.

A few more details of the structure of the temple may be deduced from a consideration of the inferences already made. Taking the width along the bottom of the architrave of the façade at 7.02 m., this would also represent the external width of the cella at this level. The poros wall blocks would thus necessarily rest along the extreme inner edge of the poros foundation course, and there would be a step-like projection of the euthynteria of about 0.25 m. beyond the base moulding, or slightly less, if the wall had any batter. Whether there was any batter to the wall is, of course, unknown, so the exact width at the bottom is uncertain to this extent. At the corners, the antae, which project 0.05 m., would lie only 0.20 m. behind the edge

of the foundation. On the interior, the cella would then measure *ca.* 5.82 m. in width, less the thickness of whatever facing there was to the wall. Assuming that the pronaos wall rested on the center of the foundation prepared for it, the cella would have an interior length of *ca.* 7.25 m., and the pronaos, from the pronaos wall to the outer edge of the stylobate, would be about 2.80 m.

Adding to these observations about the size of the cella, we may review briefly the main facts about the façade, which we have already suggested. The porch was tetrastyle prostyle; the side intercolumniation cannot be determined, but was probably the same as the two end intercolumniations on the front. Across the front, the central interaxial distance was 2.46 m., the two end interaxial distances, 2.05 m. The columns were, according to the tentative restoration, smooth syenite shafts supporting marble

Corinthian capitals, and resting on Attic-Ionic bases with plinths. In front there were thirteen steps, flanked by massive paratids. Above, there was a massively designed pediment with simple mouldings; at the peak of the gable was a fairly elaborate akroterion, apparently some sculptured figure or group. Behind the columns could have been seen a monumental doorway, also simple and massive in style. Altogether, in spite of the carelessness of detail, the temple must have had a rather imposing appearance.

Temple J offers much less opportunity for restoration, since there are far fewer blocks preserved from it. It is, moreover, unfortunate that with two exceptions no drawings are available for the material which is actually preserved. The lack is not critical, however, in that there can be no question of restoration with even such approximation as we have achieved for Temple H.

Perhaps the most remarkable feature of these two temples is that in many respects they are identical twins. The most important difference is in plan, where the variation in proportion between cella and pronaos is obvious. But the formal and structural details of most of the superstructure are so similar that for a long time all of the blocks were thought to have come from the same building, and even now it is difficult in some cases to decide whether a particular block goes with H or J. The profiles of the architraves, for example, are identical, and the important dimensions vary no more than might be allowed in a single building with the lack of precision in workmanship which we have observed in H. It did not become completely apparent that there were two buildings represented among the fragments until the discovery of a corner cornice block which certainly belongs to J (Fig. 22). Even this block, which is badly mutilated, resembles the blocks of Temple H so generally that except for one detail it might be assigned to H unless carefully compared. The essential difference, which is actually incontrovertible, is that there is a rounded moulding between the dentils and the overhang, whereas in the H cornice there is no moulding at all. Detailed comparisons are impossible, because of the mu-



Fig. 22. Corner Cornice Block from the Gable of Temple J

tilation of the J cornice, except in the dentil range itself. Here the dentils are *ca.* 0.08 m. high, 0.08 m. deep, 0.055 m. wide, 0.035 m. apart. The H dentils, it will be recalled, are 0.10 m. high, 0.05 m. deep, 0.05 to 0.06 m. wide, and 0.03 to 0.04 m. apart. Aside from these measured differences, and the moulding, the general workmanship, appearance, and conception are quite the same.



Fig. 23. Drawing of the Inscribed Architrave Block from Temple J

The other important block from J is an inscribed architrave block from the right hand (of the observer) intercolumniation of the front, bearing part of the name of Commodus (Figs. 23, 24, 25) like the left-hand corner architrave block from Temple H (Figs. 6, 7, 28). The epigraphic considerations will be discussed below, but it may be noted here that this coincidence of architecture and text, combined with the near-identity of profile and other matters, scarcely included any obvious suggestion that they came from different buildings. There are many differences however: the J architrave block measured 2.16 m. long on its lower surface (against 2.28 for the H architrave block); 2.25 m. along the top, compared to 2.37 m.; in width across the bottom and top they are identical, 0.465 m. and 0.635 m. respectively. The difference in height is negligible: the J block measures 0.70 m. with variations, for the top is quite rough; the H block measures *ca.* 0.695. The differences in the technical details on the top, however, are more striking. The J block has only one lewis hole



Fig. 24. Inscribed Architrave Block from Temple J



Fig. 25. Inscribed Architrave from Temple J, Showing Cuttings on the Top and Back

not significantly different from those used in Temple H, and only two clamps, one at each end. This contrasts with the use of four clamps in the H architrave. Most significant, perhaps, is the adaptation for setting the side architrave. A comparison of the drawings will show the difference better than it can be explained; in general, the cutting on the J block is much neater and more workmanlike, and suggests a careful fit.

The under surface of the J block presents an interesting phenomenon, unrelated to the comparison with the H architrave. Two cuttings, one rectangular, the other triangular, evidently represent patches repairing damage to the edge and surface while they were being worked. The rectangular cutting is 0.33 m. long, 0.087 m. wide, 0.045 m. deep on the outer edge, 0.03 m. at the inner edge. The triangular cutting is 0.30 m. along the edge, 0.39 m. on the hypotenuse, and 0.23 m. on the other side. It is only 0.016 m. deep.

A closer examination of the blocks will reveal certain smaller differences that may be even more significant.⁹ Most important is a slight difference in marble. The J block has a bluish tinge, and veins of the bluish material on which the stone may tend to split. The H block has more of a rusty, reddish color. These differences are not obvious, and do not produce a noticeable difference in the color of the finished block, but are visible to close inspection in broken places. They suggest that the blocks came from different sections of one extensive quarry. Another difference may be seen in the tooling. That in the H block seems to have been accomplished with a fine claw chisel, whereas in the J block a fine point seems to have been used throughout. Other slighter differences in tooling may be observed, but none which might not be due to the peculiarities of individual workmen doing up different blocks.

Even the differences noted above need not be decisive in themselves in separating the two inscribed blocks, but they may be observed on other architrave blocks, blocks of the tympanum, and the cornice blocks, usually coinciding with other peculiarities which accentuate the different assignment. For example, these criteria distinguish from the architrave blocks assigned to H another architrave block from the wall of the building, which must have come from the pronaos wall, and the mouldings of which are beveled off to effect an inner corner (Fig. 8, J A 1). But the method of fitting is distinctively different from that used in the blocks already assigned to H. Instead of having the whole end of the block sliced off at an angle, the J block is finished off square, with a joint surface beside the beveled mouldings, so that the adjoining block from the pronaos architrave would have fit squarely against it. In view of this fundamentally different way of making the corner, the block would most naturally go with J rather than H, quite apart from the differences in marble and tooling.

⁹ Most of these were pointed out to me by H. A. Thompson.

On the basis of marble and tooling alone, however, it seems probable that four tympanum blocks, and two other mutilated wall architrave blocks (Fig. 8) must be assigned to J rather than H.

It is probable that two square pilaster capitals should be assigned to J (Figs. 26, 27). These would most naturally go on the ends of antae, and it would seem almost



Fig. 26. Drawings of Anta Capitals from Temple J

certain that J must have fairly long parastades with antae. From the front of the stylobate to the pronaos wall must have been almost 4.50 m.; this would have been deep enough for a prostyle porch with one column on each flank, but it may be questioned whether Temple H would have been built so far forward as to blank out an open porch like this, if there had been one. It would have been just as reasonable a plan to have parastades stretching half the length of the pronaos, terminating in pilasters with the capitals in question, and one intercolumniation beyond that. It is

true, of course, that Temple H must also have had antae with capitals, but the distance is short enough as it is for a single intercolumniation, and it is perhaps more probable that the antae of H were much shallower and did not project a full column diameter. This is only speculation, it must be confessed, and in the last analysis the only reason for assigning the pier caps to J must be the evident desirability of long parastades for that building, in which the antae capitals would more appropriately have the form and proportion of the column capitals.

In any case, there seems to be no definitive evidence for dividing up the available capitals, either for antae or columns, between H and J, but there is every reason to suppose that the preserved capitals were originally so divided. In view of the similarity of architraves, it is only reasonable to suppose that the capitals were similar, and it would be perhaps unreasonable to suppose that all the capitals from one building are preserved, none from the other.

Under the circumstances, it would be futile to attempt to go into any more detail in the restoration of Temple J. Its approximate dimensions, as deduced from the foundations, have already been given (p. 321). In its external appearance, it may have been much like Temple H: tetrastyle, Corinthian, with about ten steps, probably between narrow paratids. Its principal difference, as mentioned before, would be the deep pronaos, flanked by antae reaching to the second columnar position.

We may turn now to a consideration of the inscriptions on the two architrave blocks. It will be noted that in general the style of lettering is the same on each, and both obviously refer to the emperor Commodus, the son of M. Antoninus Pius (Marcus Aurelius) and the nominal great-great-grandson of Nerva. In each, the names of the royal line are well preserved, but the name (in the one) and the titles (in the other) of Commodus himself have been erased.

There are, however, a number of differences. On the block assigned to H (Figs. 6, 7, 28), the normal letters, such as N, I, etc., of the first line, on the frieze, are *ca.* 0.10 m. in height; on the other (Figs. 23, 24), they are between 0.08 m. and 0.09 m. The same relative difference is perceptible in the second line. In the H block, the letters are *ca.* 0.09 m. in height; on the J block, as nearly as can be determined from the traces left after the erasure, they are only *ca.* 0.08 m. In the second place, the marks of punctuation on the H block are deeper and somewhat different in shape; in this connection, it will also be noted that there is a punctuation between the components of "abnepos" on the J inscription, none between those of "adnepos" in the H block. A third difference lies in the erasures. On the H block, the surface is roughly



Fig. 27. One of the Anta Capitals from Temple J

hacked away, but the letters are still easily legible, even in the photograph. The erasure on the J architrave is much more thorough and careful, so that it requires the most exacting observation to distinguish the original letters. Again, both of the first two lines of the H inscription begin at the extreme left hand of the blocks, whereas on the other stone, the second line ends some 0.60 m. from the right-hand end. If the inscription was centered, as the style of cutting would suggest, the second line of the H inscription would have extended quite to the end of its architrave, but that of the



Fig. 28. Inscription on the Architrave from Temple H

J inscription must have begun some 0.60 m. from the left-hand end. Finally, the H inscription has a third line of text, but the J block does not. These considerations could not in themselves prove conclusively that the two blocks represent two distinct inscriptions, but when we view them in relation to the architectural indications, we can remain in little doubt but that in fact they should be assigned to different buildings.

In spite of this, it would appear that the first two lines of the inscriptions must have read the same. If we restore the H inscription to the length indicated by the conclusions drawn from the architectural evidence concerning the width of the building, i. e., to *ca.* 7.02 m., the most probable restoration would be:

1. IMP CAESAR DIVI M ANTONINI PII GER[M FIL DIVI PII NEPOS DIVI HADRIANI PRONEPOS DIVI TRAIANI PARTHICI ABNEPOS]
2. DIVI NERVAE ADNEPOS [M AUREL COMM[ODUS] ANT AUG PIUS SARM GERM MAX BRITT PONTIF MAX TRIB P --- IMP --- COS --- P P]
3. EX TESTAMENTO CORNEL BAEBIAE FECIT CUR[AVITQUE ---]

The J inscription must have read almost exactly the same (with the exception of the dates, as we shall see below). Since we do not know the exact length of the J façade, we could not even attempt to construct a scale restoration of the text, as was possible with the Temple H inscription, but since the Temple J letters are only a little smaller than those of Temple H, and the façade was also only a little shorter, the proportions would be the same. In any case, although there would be enough freedom in dealing with abbreviations and titles to permit numerous variations of text within the limits approximately known, none of these variations could be proven, nor could any be significant.

The date of Temple J can be determined exactly by deciphering the *rasura* as follows:

[PONTIF MAX TRIB P X IMP VII COS IIII P P]

The tenth tribunician power of Commodus extended from Dec. 10, A.D. 184, to Dec. 10, A.D. 185, so that the completion of the building must have fallen within that period. The date of Temple H can be approximated very closely, although perhaps not within the year. After A.D. 191, Commodus gave his name as L. Aelius Aurelius Commodus, so that the designation M. Aurelius Commodus must fall before that time. However, the broken and worn corner of Temple J against the wall of Temple H (*supra*, p. 320) would urge us to assume the greatest possible time lapse between the two buildings, so that it would be preferable to put the date as near 190 A.D. as possible. Moreover, in the scale restoration of the Temple H inscription, it is necessary to keep the *cursus* as short as possible to fit into the space available; i. e., of the tribunician powers between X (185 A.D.) and XV (190 A.D.), the eleventh or fifteenth would be preferable because of their brevity. On Jan. 1, 190, Commodus became Consul for the sixth time, but the choice between V and VI is of less consequence than that between XIII and XV. Hence the *cursus* of Temple H must have read: [PONTIF MAX TRIB P XV IMP VIII COS VI P P], and the building may be dated in 190 A.D.

The restoration of the third line of the Temple H inscription is of course quite impossible. Any number of expressions could be appropriate to this line, and there is far too little to suggest even the general tenor of what was to follow.

Apart from the interest of the inscriptions in dating the buildings so precisely, the principal importance lies in the fact that they would seem to be the only extant inscriptions in which Commodus gives himself credit for the construction of a temple. In the *Life of Commodus* (*Scr. Hist. Aug.*, "Commodus Antoninus," by Aelius Lampridius, XVII) it is said that he built no buildings himself, but affixed his names

to the buildings of others. A number of inscriptions are known in which Commodus appears as the sole or joint builder of bridges or fortifications,¹⁰ and there are several buildings which were dedicated to him.¹¹ But there seems to be no straightforward example of a temple erected by him, with the possible exception of some fragmentary inscriptions that may be restored to this effect.¹² Hence our temples would seem to be the best, perhaps the only, illustrations of the accusation made in the *Life*, for Temple H, at least, would seem certainly to have been financed from the will of Cornelia Baebia, whose name was considerably subordinated to that of the emperor.

If it should be desired to improve the bad name of the emperor in this regard, two hypotheses are possible. The first is, that Cornelia Baebia desired to honor the emperor, and herself had his name inscribed so prominently. Normally, however, the practice would be to put the name in the dative or genitive, although it is possible that for any of various reasons she preferred the nominative. In the second place, it is possible that she willed the money to the emperor for the purpose of erecting the temple. For this, however, it would be almost necessary to assume some sort of connection between the emperor and the Corinthian woman; that is, she must have been fairly prominent, perhaps acquainted with the emperor, to have bequeathed him an estate with provisos.¹³

This possibility is, indeed, hinted at in another direction. Cornelia Baebia is apparently not otherwise known than in Corinth.¹⁴ But the name suggests some sort of union between the Cornelii and the Baebii, of which there are other tenuous indications elsewhere. The Cornelii were apparently an important family in Corinth; several inscriptions there bear their names. One of the most important mentions Cornelius Maecianus, who is thought perhaps to have been the same as D. Cornelius Maecianus, known to have had a fairly important career in Spain¹⁵ in the fourth quarter of the first century after Christ. M. Cornelius A. f. Novatus Baebius Balbus was also active in the army in Spain at about that time.¹⁶ If we recall an inscription

¹⁰ Bridge: *C.I.L.*, III, 1, 3202 (Dessau, I, 393); *Not. d. Scavi*, 1908, p. 476. Road: (uncertain restoration) *C.I.L.*, III, suppl. 2, 13566. Fortifications: *C.I.L.*, III, suppl. 1, 11965 (with Marcus Aurelius); III, 1, 3385 (Dessau, I, 395); *C.I.L.*, III, suppl. 1, 10312, 10313 (Dessau, III, 2, 8913 with discussion); *C.I.L.*, VIII, 1, 2548 (with M. Aurelius); Dessau, I, 396. Amphitheatre: *C.I.L.*, VIII, 1, 2488 (with M. Aurelius). Baths (?): *C.I.L.*, IX, 1665 (cf. 1596); *Life* (*Scr. Hist. Aug.*), XVII, 5.

¹¹ *C.I.L.*, III, suppl. 1, 6977 (with M. Aurelius); *C.I.L.*, VIII, suppl. I, 12014 (Dessau, II, 1, 5412).

¹² *Not. d. Scavi*, 1888, p. 292; *C.I.L.*, VIII, 1, 2697; X, 6654.

¹³ But cf. also, *Life of Commodus*, V, 14 (Loeb), where it is said that some provincials were accused for not making Commodus their heir.

¹⁴ Zena Baebia Cornelia is named in an inscription from the Via Appia (*C.I.L.*, VI, 2, 9250), but she seems to have been a person of no consequence, although there may, of course, have been a connection with our Cornelia Baebia somewhere.

¹⁵ West, *Corinth*, VIII, ii, *Latin Inscriptions from Corinth*, 1896-1926, nos. 124-125, pp. 100-104. Cf. *C.I.L.*, II, 2477; Dessau, I, 254.

¹⁶ *C.I.L.*, II, 1614; cf. Ritterling, in Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, s. v. Legio, pp. 1598-1614, especially 1611.

bearing the name of C. Baebius Corinthus, also from Spain, but undated,¹⁷ we may infer that there was a Baebius family in Corinth, and the combination of "Cornelius" and "Baebius" in the dated inscription may suggest that they had already been united by then. A similar but less complete coincidence is seen in the presence of C. Cornelius Corinthus and L. Baebius Caecilianus in the same part of Pannonia, possibly together at the end of the second century after Christ.¹⁸ Hence the existence of connection between Corinthian Corneli and Baebii is hinted more than once, and there is some basis for speculation that they continued on good terms, at some level of prominence.

In his discussion of Cornelius Maecianus, West points out that Maecianus is an unusual cognomen, and rests his tentative identification of the Corinthian and the Spanish bearers of that name on this fact. It is, then, a further interesting coincidence that a Baebius Maecianus was a kinsman of Clodius Albinus, a favored general of Commodus and holder of the empire for a brief period in 196. Our Baebius Maecianus is mentioned only briefly in the *Life of Albinus*, VI, 1 (*Scr. Hist. Aug.*), and nothing further is known about him. The suggestion is that he did not live in Corinth, for it is implied that he was a good friend of Albinus while the latter still lived in Africa. But if the Corneli and Baebii of Corinth were closely associated, the rare cognomen might well have been shared, and Baebius Maecianus might have acquired his cognomen from the line of the Baebii. It is neither possible nor desirable to press these coincidences into proof that Cornelia Baebia was related to Baebius Maecianus, friend of Albinus, friend of the emperor, and hence was close enough to the imperial house to intrust funds to the emperor for the construction of a temple. It seems preferable to suppose that she left the money for the temple, and its dedication was usurped by the throne. But the above discussion will have indicated a bare possibility, at least, that something more honorable may be seen in the emperor's name on the temple.

A final question relates to the divinities to whom the temples were dedicated. This, however, there is little hope of discovering. Obviously Pausanias could be of no assistance, for they were built long after his time. For Temple J we may hazard a guess that it was dedicated to Poseidon, for two reasons. In the first place, it was erected on the remains of a fountain dedicated to Poseidon, demolished expressly for the purpose of building the temple.¹⁹ It would not be unnatural for the divinity thus injured to be honored by receiving the dedication of the temple in place of the fountain. In the second place, it would appear that Poseidon was particularly in the minds of the Corinthians at that period, to judge from the frequency of his appearance on the local coinage under the reign of Commodus.²⁰ For the dedication of Temple H, however, there is at present no clue whatsoever.

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¹⁷ *C.I.L.*, II, 4614.

¹⁸ *C.I.L.*, III, 1, 3579, and *C.I.L.*, III, 1, 3706.

¹⁹ The identification and description of the fountain must be deferred until the final publication.

²⁰ *British Museum Catalogue of Greek Coins, Corinth*, pp. 81-82.

THE PHILINNA PAPYRUS AND THE GOLD TABLET FROM THE VIGNA CODINI

In the last number of the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* (LXII, 1942, pp. 33-38) Professor Paul Maas has reconstructed an interesting magical text from what he calls, for convenience, the Philinna papyrus. That document is made up of two fragments, P. Amherst 11 and P. Berol. 7504 (*Berliner Klassikertexte*, V, p. 144). Because of the war the proposed junction could not be demonstrated by photographs of both pieces, but the reconstruction is nevertheless convincing. This note deals with one short passage in the papyrus. I accept Maas's edition of the text (p. 36) and refer the reader to his article for all palaeographical matters and for the details of the reconstruction.

The Philinna papyrus is a collection of charms written in hexameters. The last, which is headed Φιλίννης Θεσσαλῆς ἐπαοιδῇ εἰς κεφαλῆς πόνον, reads as follows:

- 15 Φεῦγ' ὀδύνη κεφαλῆς, φευγειδε [2-4 ll.]
16 ὑπὸ πέτ[ρα]ς, φεύγουσιν δὲ λύ-
17 κοι, φεύγουσι δὲ μώνυχες ἵπ-
18 ποι

The Berlin fragment has the words πληγαῖς ὑπ[ε]ρ in the latter part of line 18 and there are two letters preserved in the line below. No attempt has been made to fill the gaps, and I disregard these remnants.

After φεύγει δέ in line 15, Maas suggests λέων or τε λίς; Wilamowitz had already supplied τε. I would propose τε πᾶν, following the analogy of another magical text, the gold tablet or lamella found in the Vigna Codini, which was first described by Secchi nearly a century ago, and has been mentioned or briefly discussed by several scholars since. The inscription reads ΑΙΩΝ ΕΡΠΕΤΑ ΚΥΡΙΕ ΣΑΡΑΤΤΙ ΔΟC ΝΕΙ-ΚΗΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΠΑΙΝ ΥΠΟ ΠΕΤΡΑΝ. In this *Journal*, *supra*, pp. 30-35, I reported and criticized previous interpretations, and suggested that in spite of obvious grammatical difficulties this text could be explained as a charm against reptiles and scorpions. Instead of ΠΑΙΝ we must read ΠΑΝ, and the phrase πᾶν ὑπὸ πέτρᾳ, "everything under a stone," must be referred to lurking vermin (cf. Soph., *Fr.* 37; Praxilla, *Fr.* 4 Bergk). One grammatical irregularity of the gold tablet may have been shared by the papyrus, for πέτρᾳ is said to be a possible reading there. For full discussion of the language and the purpose of the gold tablet I must refer to the article mentioned above.

Nobody, of course, will imagine that my hypothetical interpretation of the tablet

“The meaning, then, could be: ‘Give victory over those under the slab.’ Perhaps the writer meant all the enemies, physical or spiritual, which the deceased had to face in the tomb. The charm would, in that case, definitely be meant for the after-life, which would explain that it was put into the deceased’s mouth.

“Another curious feature is that the text is an hexameter, into which some words have been inserted *παρὰ μέτρον*. The original verse may have read:

αἰὼν ἐρπέτα δὸς νείκην κατὰ τῶν ὑπὸ πέτραι,

or perhaps also:

ἐρπέτα κύριε δὸς νείκην κατὰ τῶν ὑπὸ πέτραι.

“I should prefer the first reading, and suppose that the charm was taken from some liturgy of *Aiôn* and adapted to the personal beliefs of a follower of *Sarapis-Aiôn*. Hence *κύριε Κάραπι*.”

Mr. Seyrig’s suggestion is very ingenious and it agrees perfectly with the epigraphical characteristics of many magical amulets; consequently it may be approved by competent judges. I hesitate to accept it, chiefly because the word “all” is so commonly used in apotropaic formulas; thus we find *φύλαξον ἀπὸ παντὸς κακοῦ* on an amulet in the British Museum, *φυλάξατε . . . ἀπὸ παντὸς κακοῦ δαίμονος* on a stone published by Du Molinet, and in the silver lamella edited by Froehner the operator exorcises “all spirits,” and then mentions in particular “all epilepsy,” “every fever,” and so on through a list of six items.² There is also the possibility that the Philinna papyrus had *πάν* in a somewhat similar context.

Mr. Seyrig introduces a new element into the discussion with the idea that *τῶν ὑπὸ πέτραι* refers to the enemies or dangers that the dead person would encounter in the other world. I should like, however, to see evidence that the phrase conveys such a suggestion elsewhere. Perhaps others may be able to throw more light upon this obscure text.

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² British Museum 56010; Du Molinet, *Cabinet de la Bibliothèque de Sainte Geneviève*, p. 127, plate 29, 7-8; Froehner, *Sur une amulette basilidienne* (Caen, 1867); see also for further illustration of this point the long text (a phylactery against demonic visitations) from a silver lamella found in a tomb at Beirut and published by Héron de Villefosse (*Florilegium Vogüé*, pp. 287-295).

NOTE ON I.G., I², 945

In *Hesperia*, XII, 1943, p. 20, the suggestion was made that the stone carrying the epigram on the Athenians who fell at Potidaea was found in March, 1797, by Fauvel. It may be noted now that this assumption as well as the clear statements of both H. J. Rose and E. Q. Visconti (*loc. cit.*, p. 20, note 38) are contradicted by the following report made by J. C. Hobhouse who visited Greece in the company of Lord Byron (*A Journey through Albania and other provinces of Turkey in Europe and Asia, to Constantinople, during the years 1809 and 1810*, Philadelphia, March 8, 1817, vol. I, letter XXII, p. 264):

"Passing down from the Muséum towards the Acropolis, and keeping a little to the right, you come into a flat piece of ground, which stretches along the southern rocks of the citadel, and was that portion of ancient Athens called 'the Ceramicus within the City,' but is now ploughed, though but with little advantage to the husbandman, as the soil is very thin, and covered in many places with small fragments of marble, and other ruins of ancient buildings; a circumstance no one will wonder at, who has looked into the mention made of this portion of ancient Athens by Pausanias. In this place we were shown several marks of late excavations [this letter was written in February, 1810], undertaken chiefly by Lord Elgin, who had the good fortune to find there a stone with an inscription, in elegiac verse, on the Athenians who were slain at Potidaea."

It is interesting to note that Hobhouse himself, in the second edition of his *Travels* (Lord Broughton, *Travels in Albania etc., A new edition*. London, 1855, vol. I, pp. 268 f.), repeats the above quoted account, while a few pages later he gives an entirely different story. He speaks (p. 314) of the region of the Platonic Academy, and says:

"Several temples were erected in and about the celebrated Gymnasium just mentioned; but no material remains have been discovered in that quarter, although small fragments of marble have been ploughed up in the cornfields now occupying its site."

To this sentence, which is taken over from the first edition, Hobhouse (then Lord Broughton) added in 1854 the following note:

"It was on this spot that, in 1802, was found an inscribed marble, bearing part of an epitaph on those who fell at Potidoea [*sic*], the year before the Peloponesian [*sic*] war, 432 B.C. The marble is now in the British Museum."

HERA, THE SPHINX?

In a spirit of inquiry I invite your attention anew to one of the most familiar fragments of Greek sculpture, the face which has been called the face of the cult statue of Hera from her temple at Olympia ever since it was so identified by the excavators in 1870 (Plate XII, Figs. 1-3).¹ I propose to discuss this identification once more because I think that the statue of Hera was something quite different, and that there is another explanation of the fragment in question, at least as plausible as the interpretation as Hera.

The block of limestone is 0.52 m. tall, and consists of a face with the left ear projecting at right angles, with a broken mass behind and below the ear. It has neatly worked curls across the forehead, a band over the hair, straight hair diverging from the crown of the head, and on the very center of the head, a kalathos. On the right side the face is preserved as far back as on the left but there is no ear on the right side. This curious asymmetry has never been explained, nor has there been a convincing explanation of the lump which appears at the base of the headdress on the same side as the ear, without there being any corresponding lump on the other side.

As soon as this face was found it was claimed as the head of the cult statue from the temple of Hera for the following reasons: first, the head is too large to be anything but a goddess, and the appropriate goddess is Hera, who had a large, ancient and important temple on the grounds; second, the material, a limestone, is the same as the base in the temple on which a statue or statues stood; third, that the head was found not very far from the temple; fourth, that a limestone figure could not stand out-of-doors; fifth, and this is the important argument, that Pausanias described a "rude" statue of the seated Hera within the temple.

But let us examine the text of Pausanias (V, 17, 1-4). The section opens with the statement that in the temple of Hera is a statue of Zeus, and that he stands beside the seated goddess, and that the workmanship of these statues is rude. Pausanias continues with descriptions of statues of the Seasons and of Themis; of five Hesperides, made by Theokles; of Athena, made by Medon, and of Kore, Demeter, Apollo and Artemis; then of Leto, Tyche, Dionysos, and a winged Nike. He proceeds (Frazer's translation), "The images I have enumerated are of ivory and gold [*τὰ μὲν δὴ κατελεγμένα ἔστιν ἐλέφαντος καὶ χρυσοῦ*]. But afterwards they dedicated other images in the Heraeum: Hermes bearing the babe Dionysus, a work of Praxiteles in stone; and a bronze Aphrodite. . . . A gilded child, naked, is seated before the image of Aphro-

¹ *Ausgrabungen zu Olympia*, IV, pp. 13 f., pls. XVI f.; *Olympia, Ergebnisse*, III, pp. 1-4, pl. 1.

dite. . . . Hither were brought from the so-called Philippeum other statues of gold and ivory: Eurydice, <wife of Aridaeus, and Olympias, wife of> Philip." (The restorations at the end were made by Buttmann.) Now an honest and fair reading of this passage demands that all the statues, including the Hera and unless specified to the contrary, were of gold and ivory. The Hermes, the Aphrodite and the child are carefully singled out as of other material. There is one clear statement that the statues mentioned in the first part of the chapter are of gold and ivory, and toward the end there is the return to the subject, in the mention of *other* statues in these materials. The implication is clearly that the Heraion was a sort of storehouse for statues in the fine expensive media, with only a few ordinary ones added.

Apparently there are two reasons why this chapter has not been accepted at its face value by archaeologists. First, Pausanias elsewhere mentions some of the same statues in their first settings, with works which he specifies as of cedar wood. It therefore has seemed that he meant that the pieces in the Heraion were also cedar. Let us read the passages. In VI, 19, 8, describing one of the treasuries of the Epidamnians he says, "It contains a representation of Atlas upholding the firmament, and another of Hercules and the apple-tree of the Hesperides, with the serpent coiled about the tree. These are also of cedar-wood and are works of Theocles, son of Hegylus. . . . The Hesperides were removed by the Eleans, but were still to be seen in my time in the Heraeum." Of this group, Pausanias describes the male participant and the tree with the serpent as of cedar. But he does not say that the female figures in the group were of cedar. Nor does he give any explanation of the splitting of the group. But since he has previously told us that the Hesperides were of ivory and gold, he does not think it necessary to go into explanations here. Apparently they were moved because early chryselephantine figures were being collected in the Heraion.

Farther along in the same chapter (VI, 19, 12), Pausanias says, "The people of Megara, near Attica, built a treasury, and dedicated offerings in it, consisting of small cedar-wood figures inlaid with gold, and representing Hercules' fight with Achelous. Here are represented Zeus, Dejanira, Achelous, and Hercules, and Ares who is helping Achelous. Also there was formerly an image of Athena, because she was an ally of Hercules: but this image now stands beside the Hesperides in the Heraeum. . . . The treasury in Olympia was made by the Megarians years after the battle, but they must have had the votive offerings from of old, since they were made by the Lacedaemonian Dontas, a pupil of Dipoenus and Scyllis." Pausanias in this passage does not say that Athena was of cedar and gold, but he does imply it. In a few moments we shall see that this implication is not irreconcilable with his previous statement that Athena was of gold and ivory.

When I spoke of an honest and fair reading of Pausanias, I was not flattering a revolutionary reading of my own. Overbeck in his *Antike Schriftquellen zur Geschichte der bildenden Künste*, published in 1868, grouped the three passages from

Pausanias which I have quoted under the heading, "Anfänge der Goldelfenbeinbildnerei."² He divided V, 17, 1-4, putting the section about the Hesperides under the artists Hegylos and Theokles, the rest of the section, everything from τῆς Ἡρας δέ ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ ναῷ το τὰ μὲν δὴ κατελεγμένα ἐστὶν ἐλέφαντος καὶ χρυσοῦ, under Dontas and Dorykleidas (equating Medon and Dontas). If Overbeck read the Greek this way, it is certain that the Greek means that these statues were chryselephantine. Two years after the publication of his book, the stone head was found at Olympia and threw dust in the eyes of scholars. Is it unfair to suggest that the wish to have discovered the cult statue was father to the thought?

The second reason why Pausanias' statement in Book V, chapter 17, was not taken seriously from the time of the discoveries at Olympia until the present is that until recently it seemed absolutely impossible and absurd to all archaeologists. Who ever heard of any such number of chryselephantine statues, and such early ones, all in one place? Recently there was discovered at Delphi a *cache* of fragments of chryselephantine statues, three as large as life and one as early as the beginning of the sixth century B.C., showing that such works did exist and were kept together.³ The *cache* at Delphi was made by shovelling the contents of just such a museum as the Heraion into a trench in the ground, following a fire at the end of the fifth century B.C.

These Delphi statues explain Pausanias' apparent confusion. There is not much difference between these early chryselephantine statues made of wood with gold and ivory inlays and attachments and the cedar statues with gold inlays which he described. All were constructed in the same way. Some had much ivory, others less, still others none. The prettiest, the most spectacular, statues were moved to the Heraion although they belonged to groups, to stand beside the cult statue which had always been there. These had lots of gold and ivory, and Pausanias refers to them as made of these materials. The others which exposed more wood and had little or none of the precious materials were left in their original positions. He calls them cedar-wood, or cedar-wood inlaid with gold.

Perhaps even if the pieces had not been found at Delphi one could have had an inkling of Pausanias' meaning from a sentence that comes in VI, 19, 10, between the references to the groups which were moved to the Heraion. He speaks of a statue of Dionysos with face, hands, and feet of ivory. He does not tell us what the other parts were. But does anyone doubt that they were of wood? Here we have another indication that such statues existed, and an example of Pausanias' habit of mentioning only what he thinks interesting about a statue. He did not write for us, but for people who could see the originals. Many modern guide books are unintelligible if read away

² Pp. 56-57.

³ *A.J.A.*, XLIII, 1939, p. 696; *Gnomon*, XV, 1939, pp. 527 f.; *B.C.H.*, LXIII, 1939, pp. 86 ff.; *Rev. Arch.*, ser. 6, XIII, 1939, pp. 263 f.; *London Illustrated News*, July 29, 1939, pp. 202 f. Only in *Rev. Arch.*, 1939, pp. 263 f. is it stated that these statues had iron armatures.

from the scene because they assume a knowledge which only the visitor at the site can have.

Some of the Delphi statues are large, but none colossal. We should expect a very large cult statue in the Heraion, since it is a very big temple. But is not the technique of the Delphi figures just the thing for a large statue? A figure built up of parts attached to wood, to a wood core which itself can be of many parts: is this not easier for a primitive than carving a monolith?

Leaving all debatable matters aside, the one thing which Pausanias does *not* say is that the Hera was of stone. If we accept the great stone face as Hera, we must not think that we have his authority for this identification.

Actually, once it is admitted that Pausanias does not mention a stone Hera, all reasons for assigning the stone face to the cult statue crumble into dust. That the material is the same as the statue-base means only that it is a local stone, available for all purposes. Then, that the head was found fairly near the temple means little, for it was not found *in* the temple. That a limestone statue had to stand indoors is not convincing proof that this one stood in the Heraion. It is not even true, for limestone was used out-of-doors. The piece in question may have stood under other protection or it may have been made to stand out-of-doors, in which case its relatively good surface would mean merely that it did not stand for a long period.

As against the remaining reason, that the head is too large to be anything but a cult statue, I presume to offer another restoration of the head. I do not consider it final, but to me it seems more probable than the interpretation as a goddess, and it explains the uneven ears.

The ear which is preserved is in the wrong position on the head. It is too far forward. The correct position is farther back, in the part now destroyed. We may suppose that the right side showed the ear correctly, back on the head, where the blow which severed the head cut it off.

Now placing the ears too far forward is not characteristic of Daedalic statues generally, but of those which have locks of hair falling in front of the shoulders. The straight locks of hair falling before the shoulders in a near vertical plane make it obligatory to show the ears (if one does show them, not conceal them with hair) farther forward than nature asks. Since this hair arrangement is quite common in the seventh century, most of the statues of the period have ears in a forward position. However, there are pieces of that period which show that the correct position of the ear was known, and that it was placed there when the headdress did not require the forward position.⁴ Also, a bronze statuette of a century later resorts to the same position because the hair is arranged in this way.⁵

⁴ Jenkins, *Daedalia*, pl. VI, 1a and 3.

⁵ Artemis in Berlin. Gerke, *Griechische Plastik in archaischer und klassischer Zeit*, pl. 88.

Further, we may notice that it is quite usual for statues of the type which we have mentioned to turn the ears out at right angles to the head. The best example is a large stone statue from Eleutherna in Crete.⁶ Because there is a plane behind the ears, it is natural to flatten the ears against the plane. To show the ear to the spectator who stands before the statue, this suits the taste of the early Greek artist, a taste which he shares with his Egyptian predecessor, but which he indulges, as far as we can tell, only when he has a flat surface against which to plaster the ear. An ear standing out at right angles to the head without any hair mass behind it, that is something hard to imagine.

The left ear of the "Hera," then, we may be sure was combined with locks of hair which fell before the shoulder. One can almost follow the outline of the damaged hair mass around the ear. A comparison of the left side of the head of the statue from Eleutherna with the left side of "Hera" (Plate XII, Fig. 2) should, I think, convince anyone that the two were alike.

The right ear was not in the corresponding position on the right side. This suggests that on the right side the hair mass was not pulled before the shoulder, pulling the ear forward and out. The reason for the disparity must be sought beyond the head in some asymmetry of the body. What human-headed figure did not show both sides alike? Why, the sphinx who, quietly seated on her haunches, turns her head over her shoulder so that you may see her face in front view at the same moment that you see her lioness' body in all its beautiful profile. The maker of a sphinx in this position must effect a transition between head and body, and his transition is likely to have some influence upon hair and ears. In at least four known cases there was adopted a solution of letting the long tresses which fall from one side of the head, the side turned toward the wing, be pulled forward in front of the wing, while those on the other side fall before the part which is the lioness' chest or the woman's other shoulder. These are: a small limestone sphinx from Sparta,⁷ a stone sphinx from Marion in Cyprus, now in the Louvre (Plate XII, Fig. 4), and its companion piece, headless, in Berlin,⁸ and a marble Attic grave sphinx in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Plate XIII, Fig. 5).⁹

⁶ *Jahreshefte*, XII, 1909, p. 245, figs. 119, 120; Jenkins, *op. cit.*, pl. VIII, nos. 1, 1a; IX, 1; X, 2. Other good examples are the small terracotta figurines, *ibid.*, pl. I, 1 and 2; Grace, *Archaic Sculpture in Boeotia*, figs. 29-30; also the large terracotta sphinx heads from Thebes and Kalydon, Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, pl. 49; and the famous stone Nikandre.

⁷ *B.S.A.*, XIV, 1907-8, p. 25, fig. 10. Only one lock is visible in the photograph; it falls over the wing.

⁸ *B.C.H.*, XVIII, 1894, pl. VII; Perrot and Chipiez, *Histoire de l'art dans l'antiquité*, VIII, p. 329, fig. 142; Reinach, *Rep. de la Stat.*, II, 705, 5; Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Kypros*, pl. XXVII, figs. 1, 2.

⁹ Metropolitan Museum of Art, no. 11.185. *A.J.A.*, XLV, 1941, pp. 159 ff.; *Bulletin Met. Mus. Art*, XXV, 1940, pp. 178-180. E. Douglas Van Buren deduces a terracotta sphinx from Olympia

Let us examine the New York sphinx. This entrancing creature shows us everything from the front. Her lioness' body with tail curled toward us, her face and her full curled wing are all visible from the front. The sculptor has had difficulties with the hair. His solution has been to draw the locks before the wing on one side and to let them fall before the chest from the other side of the head. Therefore, on the side toward the wing there is a protruding mass of hair against which the ear is projected; while on the other side he could and did let the ear lie flat against the head. Difference of position of the ears he has avoided by curving the locks which are pulled forward into an arc, thus giving space for the ear, and by turning the head just slightly away from the profile position of the body.

Another solution of the problem is exemplified in Plate XIII, Figs. 6-8.¹⁰ The sculptor of this sphinx let the hair on the side toward the wing fall behind the back wing and that on the other side of the head fall before the chest; therefore, although neither ear projects, the inner one, the one toward the wing, is placed farther back on the head. There are, of course, still other solutions. One is to cut the hair off at shoulder length, as in Fig. 9, Plate XIV.¹¹ But enough has been said to show that uneven ears are not unlikely on sphinxes.¹²

There is no parallel for the "Hera" face among the extant sphinxes. But if we imagine a very primitive artist setting out to make a sphinx with head turned over the left shoulder (the position of the Marion sphinx) we see that he might make just such a face as was found at Olympia. On the side of the head toward the wing, he would pull the hair forward to lie on the front of the wing; therefore, the ear had to be placed well forward and turn out. On the other side the locks of hair would fall straight down before the chest and not protrude; therefore, the ear could lie flat against the head and be where one would like to have it. If the head were split in two from side to side, one ear might be cut off while the other remained.

Let us now look at the Olympia piece to see whether it might be the face of a sphinx. As far as the physiognomy is concerned, we will get our answer from a comparison made as long ago as 1909 by Loewy.¹³ In discussing the types of early sculpture, he had occasion to group on two adjoining pages photographs of the head in

with the same hair arrangement, *Greek Fictile Revetments in the Archaic Period*, p. 174, no. 18. But the hair and necklace upon which this assumption rests are part of a figure of Nike; cf. *Olympia, Ergebnisse*, III, p. 40.

¹⁰ Walters Art Gallery, no. 54.770. Height, 0.072 m. Sale Catalogue, Lambros and Dattari Collections, 1912, no. 214, pl. XVIII; Reinach, *op. cit.*, V, 408, 2; Payne and others, *Perachora*, p. 135, fig. 19, no. 2.

¹¹ Walters Art Gallery, no. 54.1078. Height, 0.084 m. Sale Catalogue, Lambros and Dattari Collections, no. 215, pl. XVIII; Reinach, *op. cit.*, IV, 405, 1.

¹² A head in the Cleveland Museum which has always been called a sphinx has one ear higher than the other, *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum*, XV, 1928, pp. 189, 191 ff.

¹³ *Jahreshefte*, XII, 1909, pp. 268 f.

question, the sphinx of Spata, the Nike of Delos, a head from the Athenian acropolis, the Kore of Lyons, an early male face, and the famous calf-bearer. A glance at these illustrations should convince anyone that it is absolutely impossible to distinguish the features and expression of an early sphinx from those of a human. Now, to the headdress. It is the kalathos, the basket surrounded by leaves. Figure 9, Plate XIV, illustrates a bronze sphinx wearing the kalathos with leaves.¹⁴ So we see that there is no feature or attribute of the Olympia head which is incompatible with its interpretation as a sphinx.

The reconstruction should take into account the stub at the base of the headdress on the left side. Something touched the head here, and it was something small, for the details of the head are worked to its very edge at top, bottom and front. Treu explained it as part of the veil of Hera.¹⁵ I think that the tip of the wing or a strut connected with the wing touched the head at this point. Having the wing connected with the head would greatly strengthen the construction, making breakage of the wing much less likely. There is no parallel for this construction in stone, as far as I know, but there is a class of flat terracotta sphinxes of late Corinthian manufacture which are made in just this way.¹⁶ Some of them have a short strut from the head to the wing (Plate XIV, Fig. 10): some made in other but very similar moulds let the wing with its curved top actually rest against the head just below the headdress. If this construction was found advantageous for small terracottas, how much more so would it have been for a giant stone sphinx!

Returning to the argument of size, one must admit that the size requires the face to come from a cult statue if it comes from a human statue at all. But once the possibility is recognized that it may be from an animal figure, the size is no longer a factor in the argument. It may not be altogether beside the point to remark that the great size of the face is not as remarkable in a sphinx as in a human figure; for the total size of the sphinx would not be as great as the total human statue. A seated sphinx with this face might be less than two meters tall, but a seated human figure would have to be two and a half or more.

I have no evidence for assigning an exact location in the Altis to the sphinx that I have hypothesized, and will not attempt to say what kind of monument it adorned. Its equal in size was the marble sphinx dedicated by the Naxians at Delphi.¹⁷ It will be salutary to remember, before we reject the interpretation of the Olympia fragment

¹⁴ A terracotta head found at Olympia has the kalathos, rendered exactly as on the great stone face, *Olympia, Ergebnisse*, III, p. 35, figs. 35 and 36, pl. VII, 1. It was suggested that this was a Hera because of the resemblance to the other. But what could be more usual than a sphinx head in terracotta?

¹⁵ *Olympia, Ergebnisse*, III, p. 1.

¹⁶ Payne and others, *Perachora*, p. 234, no. 194, pl. 101; Jacobsthal, *Die melischen Reliefs*, p. 89, pl. 66 b; Winter, *Die Typen der figürlichen Terrakotten*, I, p. 229, no. 9 (many examples).

¹⁷ *B.C.H.*, XVII, 1893, p. 615; *Fouilles de Delphes*, IV, pt. I, p. 42.

as a sphinx' head, that the head of the Delphi sphinx was called an Apollo when it was first discovered, and that a terracotta sphinx head from Kalydon was called an Artemis.¹⁸

I do not claim to have proved that "Hera" is really a sphinx, but to have suggested it. This is the first explanation which has ever been given for the unevenness of the ears. It seems to me that with the accumulated knowledge of recent years at his finger tips, a modern excavator would immediately assume that the head came from a sphinx, not from a goddess. Would it not be worth while to try out this assumption and see where it leads us in knowledge and understanding of archaic art?¹⁹

But I hope that I have shown that the other assumption, that this is the cult statue from the temple of Hera, is without foundation. In the light of the Delphi finds we ought to accept Pausanias' statement of what he saw in this temple: twenty-two or more chryselephantine statues large and small, including the cult statue, most of them very ancient, and along with them one marble statue, one bronze, and one gilded bronze. Is this not a glorious picture? On the terrible day of destruction they all were looted for their valuable material, not a bit of ivory, gold, bronze, or gilded bronze being spared, but the marble statue of Hermes was left for the excavators because it had no intrinsic value.

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¹⁸ Poulsen and Rhomaios, "Erster vorläufiger Bericht über die danisch-griechischen Ausgrabungen von Kalydon" (*Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Hist. fil. Med.*, XIV, 3), 1927, p. 29.

¹⁹ Various attempts were made to connect sculptural fragments from Olympia with the "Hera." They were unsuccessful. My efforts to connect them with the sphinx have failed as well. They are: some huge fragments, once called parts of the throne of Hera, though this assignation was repudiated in the final Olympia publication; a bit of the mane of a huge limestone lion; and a bit of human hair. Only on the occasion of a visit to Olympia can anything be decided about these.

NUMISMATIC COMMENTS

I

CEBREN, NOT SIGEUM

The late E. T. Newell's attribution of a group of tetradrachms of Seleucus II and Antiochus Hierax, most of which have the symbol of an owl on the reverse, to the Troad¹ can be confirmed and supplemented by two uncommon bronze coins in the Leake Collection of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

The first of them belongs to a rare issue, the importance of which for Seleucid history and religious policy has already been noticed by M. Rostovtzeff. It answers to the following description:

OBV. Head of a Seleucid king r.; on l., cornucopia.

REV. Double owl; in exergue, corn-ear; above on l. and r. AN TIOXE.

1) Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. W. Leake, *Numis. Hell.* (Asiatic Greece), p. 19, 3 (Antiochia Cariae). 1.86 grms.; 12.5 mm. (Plate XIV, 1).

2) Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. M. Rostovtzeff, "Le Gad de Dura et Seleucus Nicator," *Mélanges Dussaud* (1939), p. 286, pl. III, 7.

3) Hirsch, Cat. XIII (15th May, 1905, Rhousopoulos Collection), no. 3860.

The three coins listed are the only specimens of the series known to me.

A comparison of the obverse dies of this bronze issue with the obverse die of Newell's tetradrachm of Antiochus Hierax (*op. cit.*, pl. LXXVI, 6) makes it evident that the die-cutter of the royal head on the bronze coins was very strongly influenced by the head on the tetradrachm; the two heads are so close in style to each other, in fact, that both might have been engraved by the same individual. Both issues belong, therefore, to the same mint, by reason of style and symbols, somewhat in the same way as Newell's royal tetradrachms (*op. cit.*, nos. 890-895 and 900) of the mint of Seleucia Pieria go together with Newell's municipal bronzes of this town (nos. 896-899 and 901-903), and his royal tetradrachms and stater (nos. 907-909) of Antioch-on-the-Orontes with the municipal bronze coin of the city (no. 910).

Excavators and explorers of Asia Minor after this war will have to keep in mind that a city in the Troad which had the owl and the double-owl of Athena as arms was renamed Antioch in the first half of the third century B.C. and preserved this name until this region was conquered from Antiochus Hierax by the growing power of

¹ *The Coinage of the Western Seleucid Mints* (Numismatic Studies, IV, 1941), pp. 347 f. and plate 76, 3-12. It is my agreeable duty to thank Dr. C. T. Seltman of Queen's College, Cambridge, for discussing with me the stylistic questions of this article.

Pergamon. The Seleucid king on the bronze and on most of the silver issues of this mint is Antiochus II rather than Antiochus Hierax, as Newell has already noticed (*op. cit.*, pp. 392 f.). Newell considered it uncertain whether his issue with the characteristic symbol of the owl on the reverse emanated from Sigeum, Ilium, or Assus, since all three towns had a predilection for the cult of Athena. Newell's preference for the old Athenian colony Sigeum appears, at first sight, to be confirmed by our bronze issue from the same mint, for it is only from the coins of this town that the double-owl is known in the Troad. However, there is another bronze coin in the Fitzwilliam Museum² which suggests a different interpretation. It was placed by Colonel Leake next to the first coin mentioned in this note, has the same very characteristic dark green patina, and was therefore probably both acquired and found together with it. This coin belongs to a well-known issue of Antiochia Cebren in the Troad (OBV. Head of Apollo r. REV. Head of ram r.; above, ANTIOXEΩN [Plate XIV, 2]), but it has an owl as a countermark in the center of its obverse, as has another specimen of the same type in the Copenhagen Museum, according to Imhoof-Blumer.³ This owl countermark makes it possible and in my opinion advisable to connect the mint of Antiochia Cebren with the owl issues from an Antioch mint in the Troad for the existence of which there is no other evidence.

If I am right, the original bronze coins of Antiochia Cebren, a common issue, were struck after the Seleucid conquest of Asia Minor when Cebren was refounded by Antiochus I or II, as the new name of this town implies, and at least some of the earlier inhabitants of this rival of Scepsis returned to their place of origin from Alexandria Troas, the prohibition against a *διοικισμος* by the defeated Lysimachus (Strabo, XIII, 597) having become invalid.⁴ Later an official change from Apollo to Athena as main city deity found expression in the coinage, first by the countermarking of the image of an owl over the earlier representations of Apollo, and then by an issue of royal Seleucid tetradrachms with the symbol of an owl on the reverse combined with a municipal issue which showed the head of Antiochus II and Athena's double-owl, the distinctive badge of Sigeum.

It is worthy of note in this connection that no autonomous coins of Sigeum have come to us which are later than 300 B.C.⁵ and that Strabo informs us (XIII, 595 and 600) that Sigeum had been destroyed and annexed by Ilium before the period of the Roman protectorate of 189 B.C. All this points clearly to a *synoikismos* of refugees

² Leake, *Numis. Hell.* (Asiatic Greece), p. 19, 2.

³ *Zeit. f. Num.*, III, 1876, p. 306.

⁴ Cf. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Troad*, p. xx; Imhoof-Blumer, *loc. cit.*, pp. 305 f., and *Kleinasiat. Münzen*, I (1901), pp. 43 f.; Head, *Hist. Num.*² (1911), p. 543; V. Tscherikower, *Die hellenistischen Städtegründungen von Alexander dem Grossen bis auf die Römerzeit*, *Philologus*, Suppl. XIX, 1 (1927), p. 16.

⁵ Cf. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Troad*, p. xxxiii.

from destroyed Sigeum with the inhabitants of refounded Antiochia Cebren, certainly a small city. We learn from the numismatic evidence that this political change took place under Antiochus II, Seleucus III, or Antiochus Hierax, and that the Seleucid ruler took a personal interest in it. Only excavation will be able finally to prove or disprove this hypothesis; but in the present state of our knowledge it seems more plausible to accept one Antioch in the Troad than two.

II

A SELEUCID PRETENDER ANTIOCHUS IN 151/0 B.C.

In the Leake Collection at the Fitzwilliam Museum is a bronze coin which belonged to a certain Mr. Sadler in A.D. 1719 and afterwards to the Earls of Pembroke. It has been noted and discussed by several numismatists during the last two centuries,⁶ but has been completely overlooked by historians of antiquity. It is of more than usual interest for Seleucid political history. The following is its description.

OBV. Head of Dionysus r., wreathed with vine leaves.

REV. Filleted thyrsus l.; above and below, [B]ΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ; below on r. between thyrsus and king's name the date ΒΞΡ; above on r. between thyrsus and king's name the monogram Π reversed; all in a wreath of vines.

5.62 grms.; 19 mm. (Plate XIV, 3).

Haym, the founder of Greek numismatics in England, recognized the importance of this coin, which was issued in the name of a Seleucid king Antiochus in the year 162 of the Seleucid era, i. e., 151/0 B.C., and has remained unique to the present time. Our literary and epigraphic sources know only of Demetrius I and Alexander Balas as the Seleucid rulers of this year. The one visible monogram of the reverse of this remarkable coin is identical with that of a mint-magistrate on a group of the latest tetradrachms and drachms of Demetrius I which were struck at Antioch-on-the-Orontes in the same year ΒΞΡ.⁷ Style and appearance of our coin similarly point to its attribution to the Seleucid mint of Antioch.

⁶ Cf. for this "ghost" coin which has now come to life again N. F. Haym, *Tesoro Britannico* (London, 1719), I, pp. 52 f.; *Numismata Pembrochiana* (London, 1746), II, plate 62, no. 9; J. Chr. Rasche, *Lexicon Universae Rei Numariae Veterum*, I (1785), col. 827, no. 1; T. E. Mionnet, *Description des Médailles Antiques*, Suppl. VIII (Paris, 1837), p. 56, no. 283; Sotheby Catalogue, 31st July, 1848, no. 1160; Leake, *Numis. Hell.* (Kings [London, 1856]), p. 29, no. 10 (Antiochus VI!); G. Macdonald, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the Hunterian Collection*, III (Glasgow, 1905), p. 75, note, who gives an erroneous attribution because of Leake's imperfect description. The engravings in *Tesoro Britannico* and *Numismata Pembrochiana* are so well done that they could be used by modern scholars. My thanks are due to the Director of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Mr. L. C. G. Clarke, for his permission to publish the Fitzwilliam coins in this article.

⁷ E. T. Newell, "The Seleucid Mint of Antioch," *American Journal of Numismatics*, LI, 1918, nos. 131 and 133.

We know that it was necessary for Alexander Balas to crush some resistance in this great city after the death of Demetrius I, and therefore Antigonos, probably the eldest son of the defeated king, was put to death.⁸ One might suppose that this Antigonos actually was proclaimed king under the dynastic name of Antiochos, but there are other possibilities of interpretation between which it is difficult to decide. Our coin may pertain to an unknown pretender opposed to Demetrius I or Alexander Balas in the unruly year 151/0 B.C. Alternatively, as Haym has already suggested, the sons of Demetrius I may have been proclaimed joint rulers or kings for separate parts of the empire during the short period of confusion between their father's death and the complete occupation of the Seleucid territories by Alexander Balas. In this case we should have to conclude that only our coin showing the name of the youngest son, the later king Antiochos VII Sidetes, would have survived the *damnatio memoriae* of all issues during this conjectural interregnum. In any case Ptolemaic interference could not weaken the legitimate Seleucid house for long. Alexander Balas, the upstart, who had won the kingdom of Seleucus I with foreign help was soon to lose it again to Demetrius II.⁹

F. M. HEICHELHEIM

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, NOTTINGHAM

⁸ Livy, *Periocha libri L.* Cf. B. Niese, *Geschichte der griechischen und makedonischen Staaten seit der Schlacht bei Chaeroneia*, III (Gotha, 1903), pp. 262 f.; E. R. Bevan in *C.A.H.*, VIII (Cambridge, 1930), p. 524.

⁹ It is worthy of note that the bronze coin described by Leake, *Numis. Hell.* (Kings), p. 30, no. 9, otherwise a common type, has the usual date $F\Xi P$ for Demetrius II, i.e., 147/6 B.C. This is the earliest coin of this king known to me; it was issued during his well-known revolt against Alexander Balas, before Ptolemy VI acknowledged the claims of this new pretender.



Fig. 1. Head of Hera at Olympia
From a Cast



Fig. 2. Profile of Head in Figure 1



Fig. 3. Profile of Head
in Figure 1



Fig. 4. Sphinx from Marion, Cyprus
After *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*



Fig. 7. Marble sphinx from Getty Museum, Metropolitan Museum of Art



Fig. 8. Bronze sphinx, Wallace Art Gallery



Fig. 9. Diagonal view of the sphinx in Figure 6



Fig. 10. Diagonal view of the sphinx in Figure 7



Fig. 9. Bronze Sphinx Attachment. Walters Art Gallery

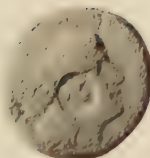


Fig. 10. Terracotta Sphinx
After Jacobsthal

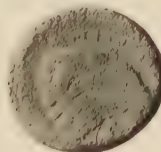
HILL: HERA, THE SPHINX?



1



2



3



HEICHELHEIM: NUMISMATIC COMMENTS

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AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS

1944

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PAGE

B. H. HILL and B. D. MERITT: An Early Athenian Decree Concerning Tribute.....	1
DAVID M. ROBINSON: Greek Horoi and a New Attic Mortgage Inscription.....	16
R(OBERT) S(CHLAIFER): A Fragment of a Proxeny Decree from Ios.....	22
J. M. R. CORMACK: Inscriptions from Beroea.....	23
CAMPBELL BONNER: An Obscure Inscription on a Gold Tablet.....	30
PAUL MAAS: 'Επένικτος.....	36
J. D. BEAZLEY: Groups of Early Attic Black-Figure.....	38
STERLING DOW and FRIEDA S. UPSON: The Foot of Sarapis.....	58
ERNEST DEWALD: The Comnenian Portraits in the Barberini Psalter.....	78
DOROTHY KENT HILL: More about Ancient Metal Reliefs.....	87

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APRIL—JUNE

1944



AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS

1944

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
LEICESTER B. HOLLAND: Colophon.....	91

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1944

THE AMERICAN EXCAVATIONS IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA
TWENTY-FIFTH REPORT

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
DOROTHY BURR THOMPSON: The Golden Nikai Reconsidered.....	173
BENJAMIN D. MERITT: Greek Inscriptions.....	210
Epigraphical Index.....	267

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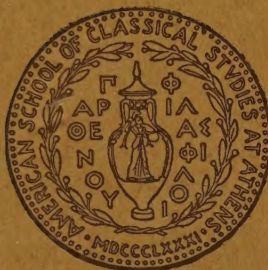
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OCTOBER — DECEMBER

1944



AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS

1944

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
DORO LEVI: Aion.....	269
ROBERT SCRANTON: Two Temples of Commodus at Corinth.....	315
CAMPBELL BONNER: The Philinna Papyrus and the Gold Tablet from the Vigna Codini....	349
A. E. RAUBITSCHKE: Note on <i>I.G.</i> , I ² , 945.....	352
DOROTHY KENT HILL: Hera, the Sphinx?.....	353
F. M. HEICHELHEIM: Numismatic Comments.....	361

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